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THE

MEMORIAL HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK

FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1892

EDITED BY

JAMES GRANT WILSON

VOLUME IV

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CHAPTER XV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE IN NEW-YORK CITY

IN a new country and in a new city those things which have to do with the practical conditions of affairs are naturally the first to be considered; and, in consequence, any conspicuous development of science in the early history of New-York city is scarcely to be expected. For the first beginnings in science one would more naturally turn to Philadelphia, where, in 1743, was founded the American Philosophical Society, the oldest of all the scientific societies in America, over which Benjamin Franklin, our first great scientist, presided until his death; or to Boston, where John Winthrop laid the foundations of scientific inquiry in Harvard, and where, in 1780, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences was founded. Still, even though the information be meager, the history of the growth of science in this city is a most worthy one, and must for the most part be traced out along the lines of the great institutions of which we are so proud. Prior to the beginning of the present century the progress of science was limited, and is mentioned chiefly as collateral to other subjects. Amoug the first names met with is that of Dr. Cadwallader Colden, who settled in New-York in 1718, and was a correspondent of the prominent scientific men of his time. He was appointed the first surveyor-general of New-York, and in 1720 published an account of the climate of the colony. As a naturalist he ranked high, especially in botany, and he was the first to introduce the Linnean system into America. He collected and described between three and four hundred plants, many of which he sent to Linnæus himself, who described them in his "Acta Upsaliensia." He also was interested in meteorology and astronomy. In a valuable paper on "The Beginnings of Natural History in America," Dr. G. Brown Goode tells that his daughter, Miss Jane Colden, was the first lady in America to become proficient in the study of plants. She was the author of a flora of New-York which was never published. Dr. Colden was one of the original members of the American Philosophical Society. Likewise an early member of this society was James

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Alexander, of New-York, who is said to have been "a distinguished politician, statesman, and man of science." He maintained a constant correspondence with Edmund Halley, the astronomer royal, and other learned dignitaries of Europe. For a time he held the office of surveyor-general of the colony, and was the father of Lord Stirling, who achieved military fame later in the Revolutionary War.

With the founding of King's (now Columbia) College, came a definite recognition of natural history, and in 1757 Daniel Treadwell was appointed first professor of mathematics and natural history. Three years later he died, and Robert Harpur succeeded to the chair, which he then held until 1765. Thereafter until 1792, when the professorship of natural history, chemistry, agriculture, and the other arts depending thereon, was created for Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, no important teaching of science appears to have been given, although incidentally, from 1765 to 1776, Dr. Samuel Clossy was professor of natural philosophy, and in 1785 Dr. Samuel Bard held that chair, together with that of astronomy, for a single year. Dr. Clossy was an Irishman by birth, and settled in New-York as early as 1734. He assisted in organizing the medical department of Columbia, where, in 1767, he was called to the chair of Anatomy. At the beginning of the war of the Revolution, being a loyalist, he returned to Ireland, where he soon after died. Dr. Bard had, during 1767–76, been connected with the medical department of Columbia College, and in 1784–5 again served that department as professor of chemistry. Subsequently he was dean of the medical faculty, and its president from 1813 till 1821. He was General Washington's physician during the time that the seat of government was in New-York city. In 1785–6 Dr. Henry Moyes was professor of natural history, and from 1785 till his death, in 1812, Dr. John Kemp, besides holding the chair of mathematics, taught geography and natural history. Such, in brief, is the early history of the teaching of science in Columbia College. In 1767 the second medical college of the New World was organized as a department of King's College, and in its first faculty we find the name of James Smith as professor of chemistry and materia medica.

Among the many distinguished men attracted to the New World by its free institutions, none have a greater scientific reputation than Joseph Priestley, from whose discovery of oxygen, in 1774, dates the starting-point of our modern chemistry. He arrived at Sandy Hook on June 1, 1794, and four days later landed at the Battery "in as private a manner as possible, and went immediately to a lodging-house close by." Not only did the principal inhabitants, including Governor Clinton, Bishop Provoost, and others, call to pay their respects, but he received addresses of welcome and congratulation from the Tammany Society, the Democratic Society, the Medical Society, and other

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bodies, to each of which he made appropriate replies. He was invited to give a course of lectures on experimental philosophy, for which a hundred subscriptions at ten dollars were raised; but he refused, and proceeded soon after to Philadelphia. From Priestley we naturally turn to Dr. Mitchill, of whom it has been said: "He was equally at home in studying the geology of Niagara or the anatomy of an egg; in offering suggestions as to the angle of a windmill or the shape of a gridiron; in deciphering a Babylonian brick or in advising how to apply steam to navigation; or in disputing about the Bible with his neighbor, the Jewish Rabbi." This remarkable man studied medicine with Dr. Samuel Bard, and in 1792 was elected to Columbia, as indicated previously. There he introduced the nomenclature of Lavoisier, although with some modifications. Two years later he published an essay on the "Nomenclature of the New Chemistry," which led to a controversy with Priestley, which was conducted with such courtesy that it ended in the warm personal friendship of the two chemists. His interest in science manifested itself in many ways, and he was associated with Robert R. Livingston and Simeon De Witt in the founding of the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Manufactures, and Useful Arts, in 1793–4. Under its auspices, in 1796, he made "a mineralogical exploration of the banks of the Hudson River," which was the earliest attempt in America in this line of research. Subsequently, in 1804, he published in the "New-York Medical Reporter" "A Sketch of the Mineralogical History of the State of New-York," and in 1809 he published a "Discourse on Mineralogy" in "Tilloch's Magazine." In his presidential address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1882, Professor George J. Brush, in speaking of mineralogy, says: "As the first distinct beginning of the science, I may mention an association formed in 1798, in the city of New-York, which assumed, as they expressed it, 'the name and style of The American Mineralogical Society.'" According to "The New-York Medical Repository," a quarterly magazine founded in 1797, and of which Dr. Mitchill was chief editor, the object of this society was "the investigation of the mineral and fossil bodies which compose the fabric of the globe, and more especially for the natural and chemical history of the minerals and fossils of the United States." Professor Brush says: "The distinguished Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, who seems to have been a man of universal genius, was at once its first president, its librarian, and its cabinet-keeper."

Meanwhile, in 1793, Dr. Mitchill was called to the chair of Botany in the medical department of Columbia College, but in 1795 resigned this charge and was succeeded by Dr. David Hosack, a young and talented physician, who in 1794 returned from Europe, where he had spent two

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years in medical studies, chiefly in the famous schools of Edinburgh and London. It is said that he brought with him from abroad the first collection of minerals introduced into America, and the collection of duplicate specimens of plants from the herbarium of Linnæus. This collection subsequently became the property of the New-York Lyceum of Natural History. He continued in possession of the chair of Botany until 1811, but in this science he is best remembered by his purchase, in 1801, of the domain called Elgin, where he created a botanical garden. This property included some twenty acres, and was situated between what is now Forty-seventh and Fifty-first streets and Fifth and Sixth avenues. He made these grounds a resort for the admirers of Nature's vegetable wonders and for the students of her mysteries. "Here," says Dr. Francis, in his ever charming "Old New-York," "were associated, in appropriate soil, exposed to the native elements or protected by the conservatory and the hothouse, examples of vegetable life, and of variety of development—a collection that might have captivated a Linnæus or a Jussieu; and here, indeed, a Michaux and a Barton, a Mitchill, a Doughty, a Pursh, a Wilson, or a Le Conte, often repaired to solve the doubts of the cryptogamist, or to confirm the nuptial theory of Vaillant." In 1814 the Elgin botanical garden was purchased by the State and given to Columbia College, and the plot, now covered with elegant residences, is one of the chief sources of revenue of that prosperous institution.

Returning to Dr. Mitchill, a more than passing mention must be made of his editorial work. The "New-York Medical Repository," of which he was one of the founders, was the first journal devoted to general as well as medical science in the United States. Many of his own researches in chemistry appeared first in its columns, but he also contributed elsewhere, and among the original papers attributed to him are the following: "On the Non-action of Nitric Acid on Silver, Copper, and Tin" (1800), "Synopsis of Chemical Nomenclature and Arrangement" (1801), and "Observations on Soda, Magnesia, and Lime in the Water of the Ocean, and how the Water of the Ocean may be rendered fit for Washing without the Aid of Soap." The latter he contributed to the American Philosophical Society. Benjamin Silliman, Jr., speaks of him "as the first author in the United States whose name appears in the list of writers upon chemical philosophy." On the election of Dr. Mitchill to Congress, he retired from his chair in Columbia College, and was succeeded by Dr. James S. Stringham, who had studied medicine under Drs. Bard and Hosack, and in 1790 took his degree at Edinburgh. He was an alumnus of Columbia, and was professor of chemistry from 1802 till 1813, and of medical jurisprudence in the College of Physicians and Surgeons from 1813 till his death, four years later. In the latter branch he is said to have been

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the first to lecture in this country, being regarded "as its founder in the United States." His publications, however, appear to have been chiefly medical. To this period belongs also the record of Archibald Bruce, who was the son of a surgeon in the British army, and was graduated at Columbia in 1797, after which he took his medical degree at Edinburgh in 1800. Of him it is said: "He was early interested in natural science, and while still in college found the collection and examination of minerals—a pursuit not then at all attended to in this country—his particular relief from other studies; for even during his recreation he was ever on the lookout for something new or instructing in mineralogy." When he went abroad he took with him American minerals, which he exchanged with foreign collectors, and after receiving his degree he traveled for two years on the continent of Europe, making the acquaintance of Abbé Haüy and other eminent mineralogists, and collecting an extensive cabinet of valuable minerals, which he brought with him on his return to New-York in 1813. Professor Brush, in the "Sketch of the Progress of American Mineralogy" previously quoted, says: "This collection—with another brought to New-York about the same time by B. D. Perkins, both being made fully accessible to all interested in science—then contributed, it was said, more than any agencies had ever done before to excite in the public an active interest in the science of mineralogy." In January, 1810, he established in New-York city the first purely scientific periodical ever published in America. Its title-page read "The American Mineralogical Journal," being a collection of facts and observations tending to elucidate the mineralogy and geology of the United States of America; together with other information relating to mineralogy, geology, and chemistry, derived from scientific sources; conducted by Archibald Bruce, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica in the Medical Institution of New-York and Queen's College (N. J.)." According to the elder Silliman, "it was received in this country and in Europe in a flattering manner; it excited at home great zeal and effort in support of the sciences which it fostered, and abroad it was hailed as the harbinger of our future exertions." This journal was continued for four years, when the failing health of Dr. Bruce led to its suspension. It received the support of many of the working-men of the times in its own departments, and it contained papers by Colonel George Gibbs, also several by its editor, especially the investigation and description of two new mineral species—the native magnesia of Hoboken, and the red zinc oxid of Sussex County, New Jersey. These were the first American species to be described by an American mineralogist. According to Professor Brush, "so thoroughly was the work done by Bruce, that those species remain to-day essentially as he described them, and his papers may well be studied by mineralogists as models of accuracy and

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clearness of statement"; while the younger Silliman, in his "American Contributions to Chemistry," refers to him as "both a chemist and mineralogist as well as a man of profound medical attainments." He died in New-York city on February 24, 1818.

Thus far we have traced in a cursory manner the beginnings of science, more especially the natural sciences, in New-York city. Space prevents any detailed reference to the many individuals who quietly and in their own way were gathering facts from nature and contributing them to various sources. The necessity of a common medium was recognized, and, in accordance with this feeling, a meeting of a number of gentlemen favorable to the cultivation of natural science was held on January 29, 1817, in the hall of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, in Barclay street, with Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill in the chair and Rev. Frederick C. Schaeffer as secretary. The "consideration and adoption of measures for instituting a cabinet of Natural History" was discussed, and a committee was appointed to report on this subject. During the following week it was announced by the committee "that they have taken into consideration the subject of a proposed establishment in this city for the cultivation of Natural Science, and from the various and ample information presented to them do not hesitate in declaring such an institution in their opinion perfectly practicable." Subsequently various preliminary meetings were held, and finally, on February 24, 1817, the "Lyceum of Natural History" was duly organized. The following officers were then elected: Samuel L. Mitchill, president; Caspar W. Eddy, first vice-president; Rev. F. C. Schaeffer, second vice-president; John W. Francis, corresponding secretary; John B. Beck, recording secretary; Benjamin P. Kissam, treasurer; and John Torrey, D'Jurco V. Knevals, and Ezekiel R. Baudouine, curators. Thus the fourth oldest scientific society in the United States came into existence. The first distinctively scientific papers were read before the society on March 31, 1817, when the distinguished naturalist Constantine Samuel Rafinesque presented two papers—"one on the *Tubipora striatula*, a new species of fossil found near Glen's Falls in the State of New-York, another on ten undescribed species of the genus *Aphis* found by Mr. Rafinesque in the United States."

It is not possible to follow the history of the Lyceum in detail, but in the first year of its existence we find this remarkable item in Professor Herman L. Fairchild's "History of the New-York Academy of Sciences": "At this meeting, April 21, 1817, Doctor Mitchill made some highly interesting remarks, tending to prove the horse a native of America. We have no knowledge of either his facts or his arguments, but it is curious to note that his conception should be proven true by the paleontology of recent years." The poet Halleck says:

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Time was when Dr. Mitchill's word was law,
When monkeys, monsters, whales, and Esquimaux
Ask'd but a letter from his ready hand,
To be the theme and wonder of the land.

The early history of the Lyceum makes frequent mention of the achievements of Dr. Mitchill, and on June 23, 1817, the minutes record: "Dr. Mitchill stated that he had taken an opportunity afforded in the excursion on board the steam frigate to the Narrows, to present the President of the United States [James Monroe] the diploma of membership voted to him by the Lyceum as a testimony of their respect, which was received in a manner gratifying to the feelings of the representative of the society."

The various meeting-places of the Lyceum are of interest. For a time it met at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in Barclay street, except at its annual meeting, when the members were gathered in Harmony Hall. When perfectly organized, it obtained rooms in the New-York Institution, where it remained until 1831. The Common Council gave the use of this building to various societies free of rent, and in "Fanny" Halleck tells how

It remains
To bless the hour the Corporation took it
Into their heads to give the rich in brains
The worn-out mansion of the poor in pocket,
Once "the old almshouse," now a school of wisdom
Sacred to Scudder's shells and Dr. Griscom.

For six years the Lyceum met at the Dispensary at the corner of White and Centre streets, and then, on May 9, 1836, entered its own building at Nos. 561, 563, and 565 Broadway. Early in the following year, on invitation, the elder Silliman delivered a series of lectures on the "Mosaic Cosmogony," and in this fashion the building was dedicated to science. Unfortunately, troublesome times were ahead, and the financial crisis of 1837 seriously affected the Lyceum. After running considerably into debt, its building was finally sold at auction, and at the meeting held on February 26, 1844, the Lyceum "found itself out of debt and out of home, with a valuable library and large collections, and no place to put them."

Dr. Mitchill continued as president of the society until 1823, and was also a large contributor to its collections. Halleck writes:

He once made the Lyceum a choice present
Of muscle-shells picked up at Rockaway;
And Mitchill gave a classical and pleasant
Discourse about them in the streets that day,—
Naming the shells — and hard to put in verse 't was —
"Testaceous coverings of bivalve molluscas!"

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The good old doctor, when a member of the State legislature, had advocated in the face of much ridicule and opposition the act of 1798 that conferred on Robert R. Livingston and Robert Fulton the exclusive right to navigate the waters of New-York by steam; and in 1825 was active in the celebration of the opening of the Erie Canal, when he poured the contents of a number of bottles containing water from all parts of the world into the sea, as emblematical of our commercial intercourse with all the nations of the earth. Joseph Rodman Drake, in his "Croakers," said most truly:

> It matters not how high or low it is,
> Thou knowest each hill and vale of knowledge,
> Fellow of forty-nine societies
> And lecturer in Hosack's College.
> And when thou diest, for life is brief,
> Thy name in all its gathered glory
> Shall shine, immortal as the leaf
> In Delaplaine's Repository.

Dr. Mitchill was called the Nestor of American science, and died in New-York city on September 7, 1831.

From 1813 till 1820 the chair of Chemistry in Columbia College was filled by John Griscom. He was also professor of this science in the medical department of Rutgers College, which place he held from 1812 till 1828. But as early as 1806 he lectured on chemistry, giving private and public lectures on that subject, many of which were delivered in the New-York Institution, and it is to him that allusion is made in the quotation from "Fanny" previously given. The abstracts of chemical papers from foreign sources contributed to the "American Journal of Science" (founded in 1818) were made by him, and he was a lifelong correspondent of the elder Silliman. Dr. Francis, who was his associate in Rutgers Medical College, wrote: "For thirty years Dr. Griscom was the acknowledged head of all other teachers of chemistry among us, and he kept pace with the flood of light which Davy, Murray, Gay-Lussac, and Thenard and others shed on the progress of chemical philosophy at that day." In 1820 the chair of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry was founded at Columbia, to which James Renwick was called. He was an alumnus of 1807, had stood first in his class, and from 1813 till the retirement of Professor Griscom, he had been instructor in the branches of which he subsequently became professor. His long connection with the college and his numerous writings make him an important factor in the development of science for over sixty years. Dr. Francis speaks of his eminence in philosophy, and he was a member of the Bread and Cheese Club, which originated, in 1824, principally through the instrumentality of James Fenimore Cooper. His work was chiefly that of

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teaching, but his text-books remain as monuments to his learning. They include "Treatise on the Steam Engine," "Elements of Mechanics," "Applications of the Science of Mechanics to Practical Purposes," "First Principles of Chemistry," "First Principles of Natural Philosophy"; also, printed privately for his students, "First Principles in Chemistry," "Outlines in Geology," and "Chemistry Applied to the Arts." His three sons achieved distinction in applied science, and the architecture of Grace Church and St. Patrick's Cathedral testifies to the genius of James Renwick, his second son.

The second president of the Lyceum was John Torrey, whose name appears among the first list of its officers as a curator. At that time he was a student of medicine, but a fondness for botany led even then to his being accepted as a rising naturalist. He was one of a committee that, shortly after the founding of the Lyceum, prepared a "Catalogue of the Plants Growing Spontaneously within Thirty Miles of the City of New-York." Preferring natural science to practice, he accepted, in 1824, an appointment of surgeon in the United States Army, and was promptly made professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology at the United States Military Academy at West Point. This place he held until 1828. Meanwhile, in 1827, he was called to the chair of Chemistry and Botany in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, which place he then filled until 1855, when he was made emeritus; also he was professor of chemistry at Princeton from 1830 till 1854, and of chemistry, mineralogy, and botany at the University of the City of New-York in 1822–3. From 1853 till his death, in 1873, he was in charge of the United States Assay Office in this city. In the leisure from his busy work of teaching, he devoted himself assiduously to the pursuit of his favorite science of botany, achieving the title so justly bestowed on him by his pupil and lifelong friend, Dr. Asa Gray, as "the chief of American botanists." The younger Silliman, in his "American Contributions to Chemistry," credits him with numerous papers on chemistry and mineralogy that appeared in the proceedings of the Lyceum and in the "American Journal of Science," and says: "His most important contributions to science were in the department of mineralogy and botany"; and "his name is inseparably connected with the development of North American flora." Even the briefest summary of his work would take more space than can be spared. Mention, however, must be made of the enthusiastic followers of botany who, during his lifetime, met at his residence and have perpetuated his name in the Torrey Botanical Club, which still flourishes. Dr. Torrey was made a trustee of Columbia College in 1856, and soon after presented his herbarium, numbering about 50,000 specimens, to that institution. It is now under the charge of Dr. Nathaniel L. Britten, who has recently been made the first professor of botany in the

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Columbia College School of Mines. It is interesting to mention in this connection that Dr. Asa Gray, the foremost of American botanists, was his pupil, and in 1834–45 worked in Dr. Torrey's herbarium and read his first scientific papers before the Lyceum. John H. Redfield, in his "Personal Reminiscences," says of Dr. Gray: "His bachelor quarters were in the upper story of the [Lyceum] building, and there he diligently employed the hours not occupied with other duties in studies and dissections, the results of which appeared in several elaborate contributions to the 'Annals.'" It is necessary to add that Dr. Torrey was, in 1855, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and likewise, in 1863, was one of the incorporators named by Congress to form the National Academy of Sciences. Belonging to this period is also the eminent Dr. John C. Jay, who was an ardent student of conchology. He was successful in accumulating the most complete and valuable collection of shells in the United States. This and his costly library pertaining to this branch of science were purchased by Catherine L. Wolfe and presented, in memory of her father, to the American Museum of Natural History, where it is known as the Jay collection. Dr. Jay served the Lyceum as treasurer during the years 1836–43. It should not be forgotten that John James Audubon, who was long a resident of New-York city, contributed valuable papers on ornithology to the first volume of the "Annals of the Lyceum."

Of the long line of distinguished men who have held the high office of president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, a few have come from this city, and at the meeting held in New-York in 1887, the venerable Barnard said: "It was your first president, William C. Redfield, whose sagacity earliest detected and presented to us the laws which govern the great storms of the Atlantic coast, and demonstrated their cyclonic character, thus stimulating the spirit of meteorological investigation which has erected so many local observatories, and given us at length a central and national Weather Bureau at Washington." Mr. Redfield was born in Connecticut, where he was apprenticed to a mechanic, and received but a slight rudimentary education. His name has been handed down to posterity as that of a philosopher and meteorologist, while scant recognition has been given to him for his practical contributions to humanity. As a naval engineer he deserves special credit, for he was the first to devise and carry into execution the plan of a line of safety-barges to ply on the Hudson between New-York and Albany. In 1826 he established the Steam Navigation Company, and the fleets of barges and canal-boats, sometimes numbering forty or fifty, "which make so conspicuous a feature on the Hudson River, were thus set in movement by Mr. Redfield," and for thirty years the superintendence of the line first established constituted the bread-winning occupation of his

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life. He was largely identified with the introduction of railroads, and in 1829 he issued a pamphlet to the American people in which he described a plan of railroads by means of which the Hudson River might be connected with the Mississippi River, which route subsequently became that of the New-York, Lake Erie, and Western Railroad as far as it goes. His views extended even further, and he marked out with prophetic accuracy the course of the railways which would connect with the Atlantic States the then infant States of Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois. These various projects have all been forgotten, while we credit him for meteorological observations. His first paper on the "Atlantic Storms" was published, in 1831, in the "American Journal of Science," and in 1834 it was followed by his memoir on the "Hurricanes and Storms of the United States and West Indies," which subject he continued later with numerous papers, descriptions, and tables of particular hurricanes. His biographer, Professor Denison Olmsted, tells how the attention of Mr. Redfield was first drawn to the subject of storms by examining the position of trees prostrated by the great September gale of 1821. He says:

> On tracing further the cause and direction of prostrated objects, and comparing the times when the storm reached different places, the idea flashed upon him that the storm was a progressive whirlwind. A conviction thus forced upon his mind after a full survey of the facts, was not likely to lose its grasp. Amid all his cares it clung to him and was cherished with the enthusiasm usual to the student of Nature who is conscious of having become the honored medium of a new revelation of her mysteries. Nothing, however, could have been further from his mind than the thought that the full development of that idea would one day place him among the distinguished philosophers of his time.

Mr. Redfield came to New-York in 1827, and continued a resident of our city until his death, in February, 1857. He was one of the vice-presidents of the Lyceum in 1847–51, and for a brief period, in 1851, the meetings were held in his residence. During the last years of his life he devoted some attention to geology, studying the fossil fishes of the sandstone formations. In 1856 he demonstrated that the fossils of the Connecticut River valley and the New Jersey sandstones, to which he gave the name of Newark groups, all belonged to the lower Jurassic period.

Conspicuous among the institutions of learning in New-York city is its university, which, since 1832, has had its home on Washington Square. It was in this building, around which so many interesting memories cling, that Samuel Finley Breese Morse perfected the electric telegraph. Here he made his apparatus,—"made as it was," he says, "and completed before the first of the year 1836. I was enabled to and did mark down telegraphic intelligible signs for telegraphing, and having arrived at that point, I exhibited it to some of my friends early in

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this year, and among others to Professor Leonard D. Gale." Over his many struggles and final victory we cannot tarry, for, indeed, in this electric age, the story of the first practical application of this force can be found in every text-book; but no history of the development of science in New-York would be complete without mention of it. His application for a patent was dated September 28, 1837, but it was not until May 24, 1844, that the mastered lightning flashed the ever memorable "What hath God wrought!" from Washington to Baltimore and return. Professor Morse gained his first knowledge of electricity from Professor James F. Dana, a young scientist of promise, who came to New-York in 1825 to fill the chair of Chemistry in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, but died, at the early age of thirty-three, two years later. During 1826–27 Professor Dana lectured on electro-magnetism and electricity before the New-York Athenæum, and at these lectures Professor Morse was a regular attendant. The establishment of the submarine telegraph is likewise due to Professor Morse, and in October, 1842, he made experiments with a cable between Castle Garden and Governor's Island. While the experiment was not regarded as worthy of being continued, still the results were sufficient to show the practicability of the undertaking. Professor Morse was long a resident of New-York city, and his winter home at No. 5 West Twenty-second street bears a marble table with the inscription: "In this house S. F. B. Morse lived for many years and died."

Contemporaneous with Professor Morse, and associated with him somewhat in his work, was John William Draper, who, although of English birth, early came to the United States and settled in Virginia. In 1836 he was called to the chair of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy in the Hampden Sidney College, but a year later accepted an appointment to the professorship of chemistry of a medical school then about to be established in conjunction with the university; but as this project failed, owing to the financial crisis of 1837, he was elected to the chair of Chemistry in the undergraduate department of the university, and accordingly removed to New-York city in 1839. Thereafter, until 1881, for more than forty years, he continued his intimate connection with that institution. In 1840 he was active in the foundation of the medical department of the university, and, besides filling the chair of Chemistry there, was also its president, succeeding Dr. Valentine Mott in that capacity in 1850. It will not be possible to follow the long line of painstaking researches made by him, the results of which are included in the more than one hundred titles of memoirs variously contributed between the years of 1832 and 1880. But mention must be made of those on radiant energy, beginning in 1847 with an able paper on the "Production of Light by Heat," concerning which, with others of similar nature published before 1858, his biographer, Pro-

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fessor George F. Barker, has written: "Surely these researches, with the prophetic conclusions which he drew from them, entitle Professor Draper to a recognized position among the pioneers in the science of prismatic analysis." His researches in this direction gained for him the conferment, in 1875, of the Rumford medals of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Daguerre's announcement, in 1839, of his discovery of the action of sunlight on silver, and its application to the permanent preservation of views, was at once taken up by Draper. "The first photographic portrait from life was made by me," he says, and in these days of rapid dry-plate photography it will be of interest to follow his experience as detailed by himself.

> In the first experiment I made, the face of the sitter was dusted with a white powder, but a few trials showed that this was unnecessary. On a bright day and with a sensitive plate, portraits can be obtained in the course of five or seven minutes in the diffused daylight, even when an ammonia-sulphate of copper cell is interposed. The hands should never rest upon the chest, for the motion of respiration disturbs them so as to make them of a thick and clumsy appearance, destroying also the representation of veins on the back, which, if they are held motionless, are copied with surprising beauty. A person dressed in a black coat and thin waistcoat of the same color must put on a temporary front of a drab or flesh color, or by the time that his face and the fine shadows of his woolen clothing are evolved, his shirt will be solarized, and be blue or even black, with a white halo round it. Owing to the circumstance that yellow or yellowish-brown requires a long time to impress the substance of the daguerreotype, persons whose faces are freckled all over give rise to the most ludicrous results—a white portrait mottled with just as many black spots as the sitter has yellow ones.

He also made the first photograph of the moon, for which the daguerreotype plate was exposed twenty minutes, and the image was about an inch in diameter. In this image the places of the dark spots can be indistinctly traced. Likewise he made the first photograph of the diffraction spectrum. Simultaneously with Becquerel, he photographed the Fraunhofer fixed lines of the spectrum, and the ultra-violet, and was the first to discover the great bands in the ultra-red region. It was his researches on the conducting power of wires, undertaken to aid his colleague, Professor Morse, in perfecting the electro-magnetic telegraph, that established with certainty the practicability of utilizing electricity for sending messages over long distances. His lectures on "Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America," before the New-York Historical Society, as well as those on "Evolution: its Origin, Progress, and Consequences," are evidences of his literary ability; while his "History of the Conflict between Religion and Science" passed through more than twenty editions in the English language, and has been translated into the French, Spanish, German, Dutch, Russian, Italian, Portuguese, Polish, and Servian languages. To quote Professor Barker: "It has now been placed on the 'Index

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Expurgatorius' of the Romish Church, an honor which its author has shared with Galileo, with Copernicus, with Kepler, with Locke, and with Mill." Professor Draper died early in 1882.

His three sons have been conspicuous in the history of science. The eldest, John C. Draper, after graduating from the medical department of the New-York University in 1857, was professor of analytical chemistry in the university, and subsequent to 1863 professor of natural sciences in the College of the City of New-York, which chair, together with that of chemistry in the medical department of the university, he held until his death in 1885. The second son was Henry Draper, who during his career devoted himself largely to astronomy, and especially to celestial photography. His observatory, built at Hastings-on-Hudson, has become celebrated. In 1872 he photographed the spectrum of Alpha Lyræ (Vega), showing dark lines, a result then unique in science; and in 1873 he made the finest photograph of the diffraction spectrum ever made up to that time. His work in this direction culminated in 1877 in his famous paper in which was announced "The Discovery of Oxygen in the Sun by Photography, and a New Theory of the Solar Spectrum." This beautiful investigation brought him high honors, and although more recent students have questioned the correctness of his deductions, none have disputed the value of the research. Indeed, how could they?—for, as has been written elsewhere, "the sun told its own story, and its light, acting on the delicate film on the glass negative, was evidence that could not be disputed." His untimely death in 1882 deprived the work of its chief director, but with funds contributed by his wife the investigations have since been continued under the direction of Professor Edward C. Pickering at Cambridge, where regular reports are issued of the work, with the title of the "Henry Draper Memorial." The youngest son is Daniel Draper, who since 1869 has been director of the New-York Meteorological Observatory in Central Park, where his many researches have gained for him a distinguished reputation. Of these, his consideration of the question "Does the Clearing of Land Increase or Diminish the Fall of Rain?" showed that the prevalent opinion of its diminishing was not founded on fact. Besides several researches concerning the variations in temperature, he took up the subject, "Do American Storms Cross the Atlantic?" and he found that from 1867 till 1873 eighty-six out of eighty-nine disturbances were felt on the European coast. This led to telegraphic announcement of storms from the United States to Great Britain. A later research demonstrated the increased prevalence of pneumonia at times when the atmosphere is richest in ozone.

Reference has already been made to the early work in meteorology by William C. Redfield, and it must not be forgotten that from 1844

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till 1860 Elias Loomis, whose "Contributions to Meteorology," made during his long service at Yale, placed him high among scientists, was professor of natural philosophy at the University of the City of New-York. During his sixteen years of teaching he was for the most part occupied in the preparation of that well-known series of text-books embracing the entire range of mathematical subjects that are tanght in high schools, and which were subsequently extended to include natural philosophy, astronomy, and meteorology. He accepted a call to New Haven in 1860, and continued there as professor of natural philosophy and astronomy until his death in 1889.

Meanwhile the progress of science had been steadily advancing at Columbia. In 1843 Professor Charles W. Hackley was called to the chair of Mathematics and Astronomy, and in 1854 Richard S. McCulloh, then holding a chair at Princeton, was called to succeed to the charge of science as previously tanght by Professor Renwick. In 1857 the college moved to its present home on the block bounded by Forty-ninth and Fiftieth streets, Fourth and Madison avenues. Professor Hackley was then made professor of astronomy alone, which place he held until his death four years later, while Professor Charles Davies was given charge of the mathematics. Professor Hackley was the author of several mathematical text-books, and it is said of him that he exerted himself particularly to establish an astronomical observatory in this city. Professor McCulloh was transferred to the chair of Mechanics and Physics, and as he proposed to devote himself exclusively to the department of physical science, the chair of Chemistry, which had been combined with other scientific branches since 1820, was restored to an independent condition, and Charles A. Joy, then of Union College, invited to fill it. Professor McCulloh was a man of distinguished ability, but on the outbreak of the Civil War abandoned his post and joined the Confederates, for which he was expelled in 1863. Professor Ogden N. Rood, then at Troy University, was promptly called to the vacancy, and has since continued at Columbia, making extensive contributions to science, chiefly in the direction of color, of which branch he is easily one of the first authorities in this country, and also in electricity, as shown by his papers on the "Nature and Duration of Electric Discharges" and the "Nature and Duration of Lightning Discharges." His "Modern Chromatics," published in the International Scientific Series, is probably the best modern work on color written in the English language. In June, 1858, the trustees of Columbia authorized the opening of a postgraduate course in the autumn, and endeavored to secure the services, for "such portions of the next two years as they may be able," of Professor James D. Dana in the department of geology and natural history; of Professor Arnold Guyot in physical geography and kindred subjects; of George P. Marsh in the English language;

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of Professor Theodore W. Dwight for the law department; and of such other instructors as the committee might deem proper. As a result of this action Professor Guyot delivered a course of lectures on "Comparative Physical Geography in its Relations to History and Modern Civilization"; Professor William G. Peck upon "Engineering in all its Branches"; and Professor Hackley on "Physical Astronomy." Courses were given by others, but the time was not ripe for this advanced step, and the scheme was relinquished after a year's trial.

Astronomy has never been developed in this city with the same results as elsewhere. This is largely due to the fact that as yet we have no large observatory in the metropolis. Still there have been assiduous workers in that science, and some brilliant achievements have been made. We have previously mentioned the work in astronomical physics by the elder Draper, and also that in celestial photography by his son Henry. Among the early workers in spectroscopic investigations was Lewis Morris Rutherfurd, who in 1849 relinquished the practice of law, in which he had been associated with Peter A. Jay and Hamilton Fish, to devote his leisure to science. In his garden on Eleventh street and Second Avenue he built a small but excellent observatory, in which he arranged a transit instrument, clock, and equatorial telescope. Stellar spectra were the objects of his study, and his paper, published in the "American Journal of Science" in 1863, on the spectra of stars, moon, and planets, was the first published work on that subject. It included also the first attempt to classify the stars according to their spectra. In the course of his work he photographed the moon, and the negative taken on the night of March 6, 1865, was the finest ever made up to that time, and has only been equaled in very recent years. His photographs of the sun were quite as remarkable as those of the moon. Professor John K. Rees, in an admirable résumé of his work recently published, says: "The series taken in 1870 showed beautifully the details of the spots, the faculæ, and the mottled surface of the photosphere, and exhibited clearly the rotation of the sun and the changes in the forms and groupings of the spots." Mr. Rutherfurd was exceedingly happy in the various apparatus which he devised. Not only were the different instruments provided with appliances of his own invention, but he contrived and constructed a measuring micrometer for his plates. Another instrument of great value to science was a ruling engine of his own construction. According to Professor Rees, "with this beautiful apparatus he produced superb interference gratings on glass and speculum metal. Some of the ruled plates had 17,000 lines to the inch; they were superior to all others down to the time when Professor Rowland (of the Johns Hopkins University) perfected his machine." In 1858 Mr. Rutherfurd became a trustee of Columbia College, and in 1881 took a leading part in the for-

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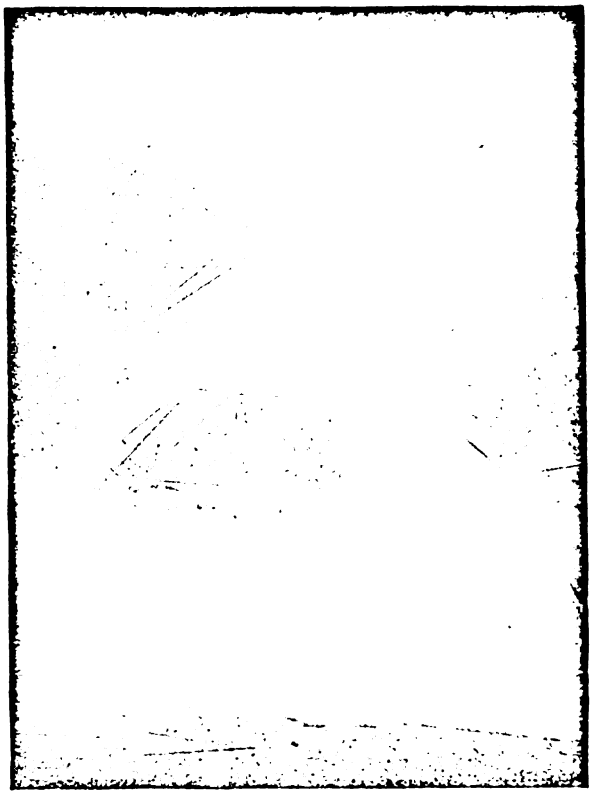
mation of a department of geodesy and practical astronomy, to the charge of which Professor John K. Rees was called. Later, in 1883, he gave to that department his valuable apparatus, and in 1890 added his negatives of the sun, moon, and star groups, numbering nearly fifteen hundred, with many volumes of measures. The reduction of the measures was placed by Professor Rees in the charge of Harold Jacoby of the College Observatory, and there has been published so far "The Rutherfurd Photographic Measures of the Group of the Pleiades," a copy of which was placed in Mr. Rutherfurd's hands while on his death-bed, in the spring of 1892. He was aged seventy-six.



THE RUTHERFURD TELESCOPE.

Subsequent to the advent of Professor Joy to Columbia, in 1857, came the rapid development of the study of chemistry, and especially of chemistry in its application to the arts. Professor Joy had the advantage of early study in the laboratory of Charles T. Jackson, in Boston, where the anesthetic properties of ether were first discovered; and then he pursued a course in chemistry at Göttingen, under the learned Woehler, whose discovery of the metal aluminum has made his name almost a household word. With the prestige of this education and with fine social qualities, he was well equipped to advance the cause of science. For exactly twenty years he continued in the chair to which he was chosen, and then, owing to the results of a severe illness, he was retired; but in the interim he accomplished much. With a view of giving a complete professional education in chemistry to such as might desire, he organized in connection with his department a school of chemistry, where, according to the prospectus issued early in the decade beginning with 1860, it is stated that the laboratory "is furnished with the best modern appliances for

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acquiring a thorough knowledge of chemistry and the applications of this science to agriculture and the arts." Among the first list of students occurs the name of William Jay Youmans, now editor of the "Popular Science Monthly," a scientific journal which began publication with its issue for May, 1872. The success of this effort had much to do with the subsequent action taken by the board of trustees of Columbia in founding the great scientific school of New-York.

In March, 1863, Thomas Egleston, Jr., a recent graduate of the École des Mines of Paris, prepared a "plan for a school of mines and metallurgy in New-York city," in which he succeeded in interesting the trustees of Columbia, so that they consented to establish such a branch of the college on condition of its not being a burden upon the funds of the college. In the preliminary prospectus issued it was stated that "the necessity that exists for more fully developing all the material resources of the country has led the trustees of Columbia College to take measures for establishing a school of applied science"; also, "as a first step in this direction the trustees are organizing a school of mines and metallurgy." According to this original scheme, "the course of the school is to cover three years, and to include analytical chemistry, mineralogy, metallurgy, lithology and the formation of metallic veins, geology, paleontology, machines, mining, mining legislation, etc. The method of instruction will be by lectures and by practical training in analysis and in the inspection and study of mines in actual operation." In January, 1864, Mr. Egleston was made professor of mineralogy and metallurgy, and soon followed the appointment of General Francis L. Vinton, likewise a graduate of the École des Mines of Paris, as professor of mining engineering, while later in the year Professor Charles F. Chandler, who had been Professor Joy's assistant at Union, was made professor of chemistry. With these three men as its first faculty, the School of Mines of Columbia began its work on November 15, 1864. A circular issued after its opening stated that "it was thought that the success of the school would be assured if twelve students presented themselves during the first year. Nearly fifty are now in attendance, and display the utmost assiduity, intelligence, and interest in their work."

Meanwhile, in 1864, Dr. Frederick A. P. Barnard had been called to the presidency of the college, and to him much credit is due for his faith in the newly inaugurated school. In Professor Van Amringe's "Historical Sketch of Columbia College," he says of that fact: "It was chiefly his enlightened spirit, foresight, judgment, and devotion that established it upon a firm basis, carried it through the most critical period of its existence, and finally expanded and developed it until, in the thoroughness and scope of its teaching, it is believed to be unsurpassed by any professional school in this country or

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abroad." At the outset the question of ways and means soon became a very embarrassing one. Expected endowments were not obtained, and the school suffered for want of apparatus, chemicals, and other necessary appliances. In this emergency several gentlemen—among whom George T. Strong, Dr. John Torrey, and William E. Dodge, Jr., were the most prominent—contributed three thousand dollars to equip the small laboratory, and thus to permit the opening of the school. The professors themselves were unpaid, except so far as they might derive compensation from the fees of the students. Professors Joy, Peck, Van Amringe, and Rood of the academic department lent their aid to make the course of instruction complete. Rooms in the basement of the college were assigned for the laboratory, and there the instruction began as stated above. During the second year appropriations were made for this school in the same manner as for other departments of Columbia, and salaries were assigned to the professors. At this time the faculty was further strengthened by the addition of Dr. John S. Newberry, who, on the completion of his labors as secretary of the Western Division of the United States Sanitary Commission, was called to fill the important chair of geology. Later, various buildings were erected, and in 1874 a laboratory building was put up at a cost of $150,000. It would carry us to great lengths to continue the history of the development of this famous school of science, but in the report of the dean for the academic year ending June 30, 1892, it is stated that three hundred and fifty-one students were in attendance on the exercises of the school, most of whom were pursuing one of the following courses: mining engineering, civil engineering, metallurgy, geology, and paleontology, analytical and applied chemistry, architectural or sanitary engineering. The different studies are included in the following departments: mathematics; mechanics; physics; chemistry, including assaying, analytical chemistry, organic chemistry, qualitative analysis, quantitative analysis, and chemical philosophy; biology and hygiene; botany; mineralogy and metallurgy; geology and paleontology; astronomy; engineering, including mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, civil engineering, mathematical physics, and drawing; mining; and architecture.

From the growth of science in connection with individuals, we have passed by gradual steps to the development of institutions, and the present intimate connection of the Lyceum of Natural History with Columbia College must be briefly traced. Subsequent to the sale of the Lyceum building its members gathered for a time at 104 Franklin street, at the home of its president, Major Joseph Delafield, who, from 1827 till 1837, and again from 1839 till 1865, was its chief executive. For six years, during 1845–51, its meetings were held in Stuyvesant Institute, 659 Broadway, opposite Bond street. Thence it moved to

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the University Medical College, where meetings were held for fifteen years. Thus far in the history of the Lyceum no mention has been made of the valuable collections of specimens that it had accumulated. These unfortunately passed away in the fire on the night of May 21, 1866, when the University Medical College was destroyed. Previous to that date "it was the principal collection in the city, and did a noble work." By a fortunate circumstance the library of the Lyceum was in Clinton Hall, on the shelves of the Mercantile Library Association. After various removals from place to place, including a seven years' stay in the American Museum of Natural History, it has since 1886 found a permanent resting-place in the library building of Columbia College, where, on the fourth story, it occupies a large long room, well lighted at both ends, and provided with electric illumination on dark days. This final home of the library was the result of an offer by the trustees of Columbia College to care for it under the following conditions—namely, "absolute and continued ownership by the academy, free use of the books by both parties, and the contract to be terminated at the will of either party; and in addition to relieve the academy of all expenses for care and binding." At present it includes more than eight thousand titles, and is especially rich in sets of the publications of foreign societies.

During 1866–7 the Lyceum met in the rooms of the American Geographical Society, under the presidency of Professor Joy. It then moved to Mott Memorial Hall, at 67 Madison Avenue. Here it remained for eleven years. Mention has been made of the call of Dr. Newberry to Columbia College. This distinguished scientist was then in the strength of his full maturity. Of great executive ability and remarkable attainments, he was, during the quarter of a century that followed, perhaps the foremost man of science in New-York city. He became president of the Lyceum, and continued to hold that office until his death in 1892. It was largely through his influence that, in 1876, a new charter was obtained granting the Lyceum of Natural History the larger and more comprehensive title of the New-York Academy of Sciences, and also by his efforts that its regular meetings since 1883 have been held in Hamilton Hall. Meanwhile, however, science has continued to develop in the smaller institutions. At the University of the City of New-York, besides the Drapers, father and sons, of whom mention has already been made, Leonard D. Gale, during 1834–38, was professor of geology and mineralogy. He was among the few to whom Professor Morse confided the secret of his experiments in telegraphy by means of electricity. In 1838 the Rev. Charles Brooks was called to the chair of Natural History in this institution, and for some years held this professorship. He was the author of several works on ornithology. John J. Stevenson has,

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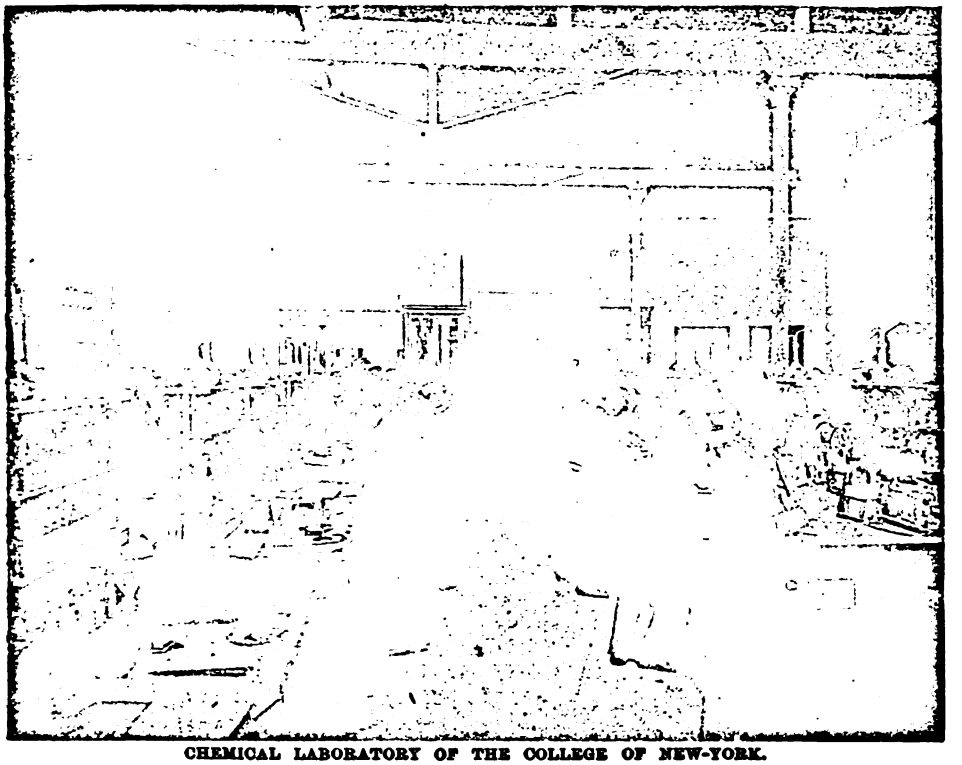
since 1871, been professor of geology and biology; and the chair of Chemistry has been held successively, since the death of Henry Draper, by Albert H. Gallatin, Robert Hall, and Morris Loeb. The College of the City of New-York, established in 1848, has numbered among its teachers of science Wolcott Gibbs, now the most distinguished American chemist living, who for many years was the professor of physics and chemistry, but subsequently was called to the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard University. Dr. Gibbs was a prominent member of the United States Sanitary Commission, and at his residence the Union League Club was organized in 1863. His successor



CHEMICAL LABORATORY OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW-YORK.

was the genial Robert Ogden Doremus, who still fills the chair. With the progress of science in this city Professor Doremus has had much to do. He studied with the elder Draper, whose assistant he became, and aided him in his researches in light and heat. In 1849 he was chosen professor of chemistry in the New-York College of Pharmacy, and in 1850 was one of the founders of the New-York Medical College. A year later he was called to the chair of Natural History in the College of the City of New-York, then known as the Free Academy, which place he retained until called to his present appointment. For his researches in explosives and toxicology he is justly famous. In

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the department of natural history Professor Doremus was succeeded by John C. Draper, who continued as its head professor until his death, when Dr. William Stratford was chosen to the vacancy. In the early history of the college John T. Nichols was for a short time professor of natural philosophy. He was an excellent teacher, and on his death the instruction in his department was transferred to the professor of chemistry.

In 1829 the College of Pharmacy was organized. Two years later it was incorporated and its charter permanently extended in 1856. For many years it struggled with adverse circumstances, but it is now one of the first schools of its kind in the United States. Its teaching is purely scientific, and embraces theoretical, pharmaceutical, and analytical chemistry, including toxicology, theoretical and practical pharmacy and botany, materia medica, and pharmacognosy. Excellent laboratory instruction is given in different branches of analytical chemistry, including the testing of drugs for their identity and purity, especially those mentioned in the United States Pharmacopœia. The college has a fine building on Twenty-third street, near Third Avenue, and has in course of construction a new building, erected for its special wants, on the West Side. It possesses valuable museums and apparatus, and the largest pharmaceutical library in America. It is but natural that with the excellent opportunities afforded to our druggists, who by law are compelled to be educated men, that we should find among them quite a number of studious scientists, not a few of whom were educated at the New-York College of Pharmacy.

We pass to a brief notice of the Night School of Science, forming a part of Cooper Union. This magnificent gift to our city by Peter Cooper has received adequate attention elsewhere in this volume, but in the original deed executed in 1859 Mr. Cooper distinctly indicated his desire of its objects in the statement that forever it was to be devoted "to the instruction and improvement of the inhabitants of the United States in practical science and art." In science this has been accomplished by the maintenance at night of schools in mathematics, drawing, mechanics, chemistry, geology, and other branches of physical science useful and necessary for young men and young women engaged in mechanical, artistic, and manufacturing pursuits. The regular course now in operation requires five years for its completion, and to those who have successfully passed through it the Cooper medal and diploma and degree of Bachelor of Science are given. The scientific department is under the directorship of Professor George W. Plimpton, of Brooklyn, who himself gives the special instruction in physics, astronomy, and applied mechanics, while chemistry, geology, electrical measurement, mathematics, and mechanical drawing are included among the studies required for graduation.

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In applied science New-York has shown considerable development, and for this growth reference is necessary to the American Institute, which was chartered in 1829. Its objects were then stated to be the encouragement and promotion of domestic industry. Among its earliest officers were William Few, John Mason, Curtis Bolton, Peter H. Schenck, Enos Baldwin, Anson Hayden, John B. Yates, and John A. Slidell. By means of its annual fairs inventors and manufacturers were afforded an opportunity of exhibiting their various productions. The first of these was held in Masonic Hall, on Broadway and Pearl street, nearly opposite where the New-York Hospital was then situated, and there, from 1828 till 1834, the exhibitions were held. For its seventh fair Niblo's Garden was chosen, and notwithstanding the fact that it was "deemed by many too far out of town," it continued to be used for the autumnal exhibitions until its destruction by fire in 1846. Then, until 1853, Castle Garden, a fashionable resort of the citizens, was used, after which the Crystal Palace, on Bryant Square, served the Institute till it was burned down in 1858. Palace Garden, on Fourteenth street, near Sixth Avenue, was used for a few years, and also the Academy of Music; but subsequent to 1869 the building on Third Avenue, between Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth streets, has served for the annual exhibitions. Besides William Few, the following gentlemen have held the office of president: Robert L. Pell, James Renwick, General William Hall, Horace Greeley, William B. Ogden, Frederick A. P. Barnard, Orestes Cleveland, Nathan C. Ely, Cyrus H. Loutrel, Henry Rutter, and J. Trumbull Smith. Among the exhibits may be mentioned Morse's telegraph, for which a large quantity of wire was run around Niblo's Garden to show its operations. The revolving firearms of Samuel Colt were first shown to the world at its exhibitions, while later the corrugated metallic life-boats and life-saving appliances of Joseph Francis were exhibited. The lightning printing-press of Richard M. Hoe, the submarine torpedo (to be fired by electricity) of Samuel Colt, and many other inventions were first shown at the American Institute fairs. During the years 1868–72 it gave courses of scientific lectures by eminent specialists. It has a valuable scientific library, and holds regular scientific meetings at which papers are presented for discussion. Its meetings are divided among four sections, as follows: the Farmer's Club, under the direction of the committee on agriculture; the Polytechnic Section, under the direction of the committee on manufactures and machinery; the Photographic Section, under the direction of the committee on chemistry and optics; and the Electrical Section, under the direction of the committee on electricity. Among the various works of the American Institute, it deserves special credit for its course which resulted in the passage of the act by the State legislature authorizing the publication of the "Natural History of the State of New-York."

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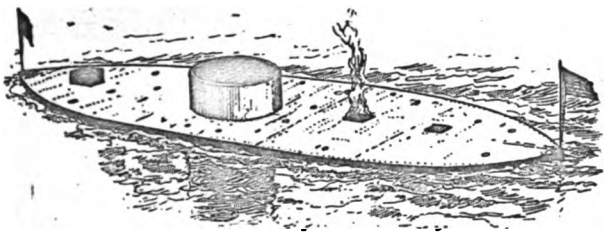
It is interesting to observe that in his presidential address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1890, Sir Frederick A. Abel, in that portion devoted to the advances made in explosives, paid special credit to the researches of Professor Doremus, and characterized the Castner process for the melting of aluminum and sodium as constituting "one of the most interesting of recent illustrations of the progress made in technical chemistry, consequent upon the happy blending of chemical with mechanical science, through the labors of the chemical engineers." Hamilton Y. Castner was a student at the School of Mines, and made in this city one of the first discoveries that has since led to the cheapened processes for the manufacture of aluminum. This very brief mention of applied science must suffice. Fascinating as it would be to describe the transformation of a rocky wilderness into one of the most famous urban parks in the world, shown in the skilful treatment of Central Park under the scientific direction of Egbert L. Vielé, followed by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux; or to tell the story of the building of a "cheese-box on a raft," as the Confederate authorities termed the offspring of Captain John Ericsson's[1] brain until the Merrimac retreated in Hampden Roads before the invincible Monitor; or to trace the growth of electricity from a condition of unchained lightning to that of domestic illumination, as has been wrought by the genius of Thomas A. Edison[2]—works all of which,



ERICSSON'S MONITOR.

[1] A monument has been erected on the Battery to the memory of Ericsson, who lived for half a century in New-York, where he died March 8, 1889. EDITOR.

[2] Thomas A. Edison was born in Alva, Ohio, February 11, 1847, and became, at the age of twelve, a newsboy on the Grand Trunk Line running into Detroit. He soon developed studious habits, and began making chemical experiments while on the trains. Obtaining the sole right of vending newspapers on the road, he with four assistants set in type, printed, and sold the "Grand Trunk Herald" with his other papers. He became interested in the operations of the telegraph, and applying himself to its study, rose to a high rank as an operator. He invented an automatic repeater, capable of transferring messages from one wire to another without the aid of an operator, and in 1864 conceived the idea of the duplex telegraph, which he perfected in 1872. Settling in New-York, in 1871, he accepted the superintendency of the Gold and Stock Company, inventing the printing telegraph for gold and stock quotations. For manufacturing these appliances he opened a large workshop in Newark, removing in 1876 to Menlo Park, N. J., and devoting himself entirely to inventing. In addition to the duplex telegraph, which he developed into quadruplex and sextuplex transmission, he invented the carbon telephone transmitter, used throughout the world; the microtasimeter, for detecting minute variations in temperature; the aërophone, for amplifying sound; the megaphone, which, when inserted in the ear, so magnifies sound that a whisper can be heard at a distance of one thousand feet; and the phonograph. Turning his attention to electric lighting, he invented and perfected the incandescent lamp; and solved the problem of the commercial subdivision of the electric light in a system of general distribution of electricity in the same manner as gas. His system is now in general use, and in 1883 Mr. Edison came to New-York to supervise its establishment in this city. EDITOR.

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together with many others, abundantly testify to the ability of the scientific men who have lived in New-York city—yet we cannot, for space is wanting.

Besides the members of the American Institute, New-York has many earnest devotees of science who are prominent in such organizations as the American Chemical Society, the American Ethnological Society, the American Geographical Society, the American Microscopical Society of New-York City, the American Numismatic and Archæological Society, New-York Genealogical and Biographical Society, New-York Historical Society, the Huguenot Society, and the New-York Public Health Association.

Thomas A Edison

With the organization, in the autumn of 1891, of the Scientific Alliance, this chapter naturally closes. The Alliance is a federation, as it were, of the New-York Academy of Sciences, chartered April 20, 1818; the Torrey Botanical Club, incorporated April 21, 1871; the New-York Microscopical Society, incorporated in 1877; the Linnean Society of New-York, organized March 7, 1878; the New-York Mineralogical Club, organized in 1887; and the New-York Mathematical Society, organized November 24, 1888. Each of these societies retains its own organization and management, but belongs to the Alliance, so that the members of each society are invited to attend the meetings of all; the times and places are so arranged as to avoid conflict and inconvenience so far as is practicable; and the economy, efficiency, and extent of advertising are secured in a high degree by the issue of joint bulletins by the Alliance. Subsequently the New-York Section of the American Chemical Society, originally organized April 6, 1876, joined the Alliance, so that at present its total membership is nearly seven hundred. During the present year (1893) the question of removing the old City Hall has been largely agitated, and the Municipal Building Commission has been requested, in case that is accomplished, to set apart rooms for the permanent occupation of the different scientific societies, many of which have large libraries and valuable collections.

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CHAPTER XVI

HOSPITALS AND OTHER CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS, ETC.

ST. LUKE'S HOSPITAL

ST. LUKE'S HOSPITAL represents the earliest effort of the Episcopal Church to provide a general hospital for the sick poor, without distinction of race or creed. The thought was conceived by Rev. Dr. William Augustus Muhlenberg, while rector of the Church of the Holy Communion, and was first expressed in an address to his own congregation, on St. Luke's Day, 1846, in which he named his ideal hospital St. Luke's, for "the beloved physician," and devoted one half the offertory—the sum of fifteen dollars—toward its erection. The spirit of the man is shown by his reply to a question asked of him that day: "Doctor, when do you expect your hospital to be built?" "Never! unless I begin." An "Appeal for a Church Hospital" soon after was made in other parishes. The doctor's enthusiasm and the evident need of the city kindled the flame of charity in other hearts, and Dr. Muhlenberg was soon surrounded by a noble band of fellow-workers. On All Saints' Day, 1845, the first "sister" of the Anglican Church had been received as "Sister of the Holy Communion," who consecrated her life to the work. Such men as Robert B. Minturn and Murray Hoffman offered their money and their talent in forwarding the project.

In 1850 the hospital was incorporated. While searching for a site the managers learned of the earnest but unsuccessful effort of the Rev. Moses Marcus, of the Free Anglo-American Church of St. George the Martyr, to establish a hospital for British emigrants. A small sum of money had been collected, and, supported by a claim of Trinity Church against the city, a lien on certain land had been secured on condition that the hospital should be erected within a definite term of years. This term was about to expire when, by an arrangement satisfactory to all concerned, the effort to establish St. George's Hospital was merged in the movement which founded St. Luke's, the corner-stone of which was laid by Bishop Wainwright, May 6, 1854.

On Ascension Day, 1857, the hospital chapel was opened with appropriate services; the sermon on the occasion was preached by the

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Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooke, rector of St. Bartholomew's Church. Divine service was held regularly each Lord's Day, while the wards were being made ready for occupancy. The hospital work was really begun in 1853, by the Sisters of the Holy Communion, in a rear tenement near the church, from whence it was transferred to an infirmary adjoining the sisters' house. In these quarters over two hundred patients were treated before the hospital building was completed. On May 11, 1858, three sisters and nine patients moved into their new quarters. During the summer of 1859, the institution became the abode of the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, and until his death, April 8, 1877, he resided there, and, as pastor and superintendent, gave impetus and direction to the administration of the hospital. He had clear convictions and a strength of will which impressed themselves as permanent and living principles upon the institution. He believed that the hospital in all its departments should practically manifest to the patients the Christian charity which was appealed to for its support. He was radically opposed to institutionalism, which subordinates charity to the patient either to the experiments of science or to the assumptions of officialism. His patients were to be treated as "guests of the church," having souls to be saved from sin as well as bodies to be cured of disease. He adopted as the motto of the hospital, which he impressed upon its corporate

THE NEW ST. LUKE'S HOSPITAL.

seal, the words, *Corpus sanare; Animam salvare* (to cure the body; to save the soul). In carrying out these principles, he believed that power should be commensurate with responsibility. His convictions, toward the end of his life, were embodied in a code of household law which, amplified by subsequent experience, has always guided its ad-

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ministration. On November 1, 1877, the Rev. George S. Baker, formerly a chaplain of the institution, succeeded the venerated founder as pastor and superintendent, with Mrs. Baker as house mother.

The doors of the hospital never have been closed, since they first were opened, to suitable and needy applicants for relief, whose diseases were "acute, curable, and non-contagious." The chapel and ward services are daily held, while business honor has always been maintained by carefully selected officers and boards of management in making full and accurate reports of the work to the public. Many of the most noted physicians and surgeons of New-York have given freely their services in the wards of St. Luke's, and have acquired by their skilful service there much of their fame; and an ever increasing number of generous benefactors have, by gifts, legacies, and the endowment of beds, aided in supporting the institution. On July 1, 1888, a training-school for nurses was established. On June 1, 1891, in response to an application of the trustees of the House of Rest for Consumptives, St. Luke's Hospital accepted their property in Tremont, and assumed their work, and now provides, in a separate department of the hospital, for forty-two consumptive patients. To October 18, 1892, 36,050 patients had been treated in the wards since the hospital was opened.

The building on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Fifty-fourth street proving inadequate to accommodate the growing work, on February 19, 1892, a new site was purchased between Morningside and Amsterdam avenues and One Hundred and Thirteenth and One Hundred and Fourteenth streets, directly north of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, where a hospital, thoroughly fire-proof, and fitted with every modern appliance for the most scientific treatment of disease, is now being erected. The administration building, and sufficient pavilions to accommodate three hundred and fifty patients, will be built at first, and other pavilions will be added as the money is furnished, and as the needs of the work require. It is anticipated that the new hospital, when finally completed, will accommodate six hundred patients. The president of St. Luke's is George McCulloch Miller.

PRESBYTERIAN HOSPITAL

In January, 1868, James Lenox addressed to a number of gentlemen a letter in which he invited their attention to the fact that the Presbyterian and allied churches in New-York were not distinctively engaged in affording hospital treatment and care to the sick and suffering, and invited them to attend a meeting at his house in

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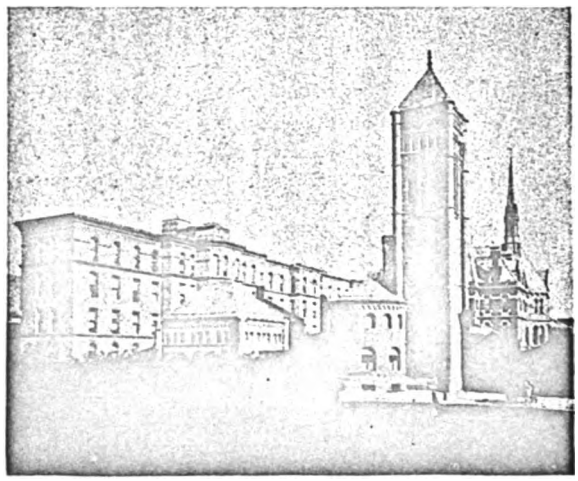
order to consider what steps it would be proper to take with a view to the establishment of an institution of this character. This letter was addressed to the following gentlemen: James Brown, Marshall S. Bidwell, William A. Booth, Aaron B. Belknap, William E. Dodge, James Donaldson, John C. Green, Winthrop S. Gilman, Robert M. Hartley, Richard Irvin, Edward S. Jaffray, Thomas Jeremiah, Morris K. Jesup, John Taylor Johnston, David Olyphant, William Paton, Thomas C. M. Paton, Joseph Stuart, Robert L. Stuart, Thomas U. Smith, Jonathan Sturges, Otis D. Swan, Charles N. Talbot, Willard Parker, M. D., John R. Ford, Henry M. Taber, Alexander Van Rensselaer, William M. Vermilye, Washington R. Vermilye, Apollos R. Wetmore, and A. Robertson Walsh. As a result of this meeting, a bill was introduced into the legislature, and passed on February 28, incorporating the hospital and constituting the gentlemen above named, including James Lenox, the first board of managers. To these were added, *ex officio*, William M. Paxton, D. D., as minister of the First Presbyterian Church; William Adams, D. D., as minister of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church; Thomas De Witt, D. D., as senior minister of the Collegiate Church of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church; and the Rev. John M. MacCloud, as minister of the First Reformed Presbyterian Church, all in the city of New-York.

The board organized by the election of James Lenox, president; John C. Green, vice-president; Aaron B. Belknap, treasurer; Robert M. Hartley, corresponding secretary; and Henry M. Taber, recording secretary. The erection of buildings was immediately commenced, and the administration building on Seventieth street, the hospital pavilion on Seventy-first street, and the engine-room and laundry in the center of the block, were opened for use October 10, 1872. While Presbyterian in name, the hospital is open for the treatment of patients without regard to their creed, nationality, or color; and while possessed of a certain amount of invested funds, it is in the main dependent upon the contributions of the charitable for its yearly expenses. The work that it is doing has been increasing year by year. In the first ten years it treated 5505 patients. An ambulance service



THE PRESBYTERIAN HOSPITAL.

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was established July 5, 1880. In the second ten years the number of patients treated was 19,649. The dispensary building, erected on the corner of Madison Avenue and Seventieth street, for the establishment of an outdoor department, was opened for patients June 1, 1888. The hospital pavilion was destroyed by fire on December 19, 1889, all the patients being removed, so that no lives were lost by reason of the catastrophe. The managers immediately decided to rebuild on an enlarged scale, so as to utilize the entire amount of ground at their disposal. The hospital as thus reorganized was opened for patients in January, 1891. The number of patients treated from October 1, 1892, to January 15, 1893, was 1018, making a total of 26,172 patients treated in the wards by the hospital; besides which there have been treated through the ambulance 11,140, and through the dispensary 106,237; making a grand total on January 15, 1893, of 143,549 patients of all classes. The officers have been as follows: Presidents, James Lenox, 1868 to 1880; Robert L. Stuart, 1880 to 1882; George W. Lane, 1882 to 1883; John S. Kennedy, 1883 to the present time. Vice-presidents—John C. Green, 1868 to 1876; Robert L. Stuart, 1876 to 1880; Edwin D. Morgan, 1880 to 1883; John S. Kennedy, 1883; Heber R. Bishop, 1883 to the present time. Treasurers—Aaron B. Belknap, 1878 to 1880; Robert Lenox Belknap, 1880 to 1892; Elbert A. Brinckerhoff, 1892 to the present time. Corresponding secretaries—Robert M. Hartley, 1868 to 1875; Otis D. Swan, 1875 to 1876; Walter Edwards, Jr., 1876 to 1884; Algernon S. Sullivan, 1884 to 1888; Elbert B. Monroe, 1888 to 1890; George E. Dodge, 1890 to the present time. Recording secretaries—Henry M. Taber, 1878 to 1884; Walter Edwards, 1884 to the present time.

THE ROOSEVELT HOSPITAL

THIS institution was erected in accordance with the terms of the will of James H. Roosevelt, who died in 1863. He bequeathed his entire estate for "the establishment, in the city of New-York, of a hospital for the reception and relief of sick and diseased persons, and for its permanent endowment." A sum aggregating over a million of dollars was realized from the estate, and the trustees proceeded to carry out the testator's wishes. The pavilion plan was adopted in preference to others; the corner-stone was laid October 29, 1869, and the hospital was opened for the reception of patients on November 2, 1871. The whole block of ground situated between Fifty-eighth and Fifty-ninth streets and Ninth and Tenth avenues is devoted to the uses of this institution; and its location, although near the North

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River, is comparatively central owing to its accessibility by means of the elevated and surface railroads which pass its entrance.

The disposition of the various buildings thus far erected is as follows: the administration building on Fifty-ninth street, in the middle of the block, is a four-story brick structure in which, on the first floor, are the offices, examining-room, apothecary's department, etc.; the private apartments of the superintendent, a medical board-room, a trustees' reception-room, and a surgical operating-room are on the second floor; while on the third are several rooms for private patients, and on the fourth floor two surgical wards for women and children respectively. The medical pavilion, which is also a four-story edifice, is on Fifty-ninth street, east of the administration building, and contains wards for patients on the different floors, and also the living-apartments of the house staff and nurses. Adjoining this structure is erected the surgical pavilion, with accommodations for thirty-six male patients, as well as the house staff and nurses. The Syms Operating Theater is on the corner of Fifty-ninth street and Ninth Avenue, close to the station of the elevated railway, and was built from a fund of $350,000, left for that purpose and for its maintenance by William J. Syms. This structure is of brick, trimmed with granite; the floors are laid in tiling, and portions of the wainscoting are done in marble. The center of the building is devoted to the amphitheater, which is of semicircular shape, with seats arranged to command an unobstructed view of the operating-table. There are also reception-rooms for patients, an examining-room, a special operating-room, and rooms for photographing, etherizing, preparing bandages, etc., while on the two upper floors are rooms for the use of patients after undergoing operations, and rooms for the nurses and assistants.

THE ROOSEVELT HOSPITAL.

An additional building, presented by Dr. James W. McLane, in memory of his son and namesake, is known as the McLane Operating Room. It was opened in 1890, and is devoted to the department of gynecology. On Fifty-eighth street is a building containing the kitchen, store-rooms, laundry, linen-room, and sleeping- and dining-rooms for the assistants, and in the basement are located all the heating and ventilating apparatus. Near Tenth Avenue, on Fifty-

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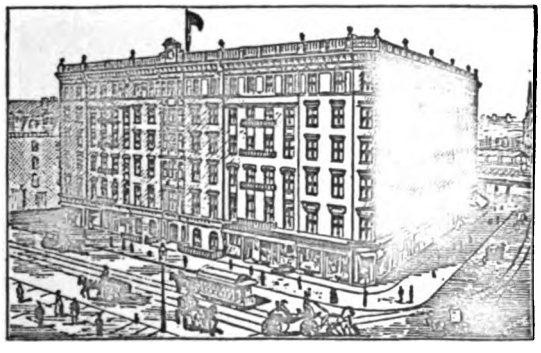
ninth street, is the out-patient department, where, in 1891, over 90,000 patients were cared for without interfering with the hospital's ward accommodations, where there are beds for one hundred and eighty patients. Dr. William H. Draper is the President of Roosevelt Hospital.

AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY

THE American Bible Society was founded in the city of New-York, in the month of May, 1816, by a convention of sixty members, who were appointed by various local Bible societies then existing, which had become deeply impressed with the importance of organizing a central national institution. These sixty delegates were among the most prominent men of their time, and not a few of them were the recognized leaders of the thought and effort of the principal branches of the Christian Church with which they were respectively identified. The committee to frame the constitution consisted of the Rev. Dr. Eliphalet Nott, Dr. John M. Mason, Dr. Lyman Beecher, Dr. John H. Rice, Dr. Jedediah Morse, Dr. James Blythe, the Rev. Simon Wilmer, the Rev. David Jones, the Hon. Samuel Bayard, the Hon. William Jay, and Charles Wright. These gentlemen, residents of six different States of the Union, in due time presented their report, which, after full discussion, was adopted with entire unanimity.

The sole object of the society, as stated in its constitution, is "to encourage a wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment." The constitution also declares that the society will not only coöperate with other organizations in circulating the Scriptures throughout the United States and their territories, but that it will, "according to its ability, extend its influence to other countries, whether Christian, Mohammedan, or Pagan." These declarations of the original constitution of the society have never been changed, and for seventy-six years this beneficent work, inaugurated under such promising auspices, has been sustained by successive generations of devout and generous lovers of the Holy Scriptures, until the aggregate number of volumes issued, in many languages and dialects, exceeds fifty-five millions. If we glance at its work in the



BIBLE HOUSE, NEW-YORK.

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United States, we find that, early in its history, the society began to translate the Scriptures into the languages of the North American Indians. It has published the entire Bible in the Dakota, the New Testament in Cherokee, Choctaw, Ojibwa, and Muskokee, and portions of the Bible in the Mohawk and the Seneca.

During the Civil War, the society furnished hundreds of thousands of volumes to the soldiers of both the Union and the Confederate armies. It has expended large sums in placing the Scriptures in the hands of immigrants from various lands, as they reach our shores. Through its auxiliaries and colporteurs it has four times made a general canvass of the United States, visiting from house to house, and supplying all who, being found destitute, were willing to receive the Scriptures, either with or without price.

In foreign lands the society conducts its work in full and friendly coöperation with the missionary societies of various Christian denominations. Among the new translations of the Scriptures prepared by the society, the most important are those into the Arabic and Turkish languages, which, it is stated, may be read, the former by one hundred and twenty millions of people, and the latter by thirty millions. It has made large expenditures in preparing the Scriptures for the Japanese, the Chinese, the Bulgarians, the Zulus, and many others of the eastern hemisphere; while the Sandwich Islands, the Gilbert Islands, and various other islands of the Pacific Ocean, have received the Scriptures in their respective languages from the presses of the society. In Mexico and South America, also, its work has been extensive for many years, and is still expanding.

The prosecution of a work so vast has called for liberal gifts from the friends of the Bible in all parts of the land, and upon these friends the society is still dependent. It is a gratifying fact that it has always held a warm place in the hearts of leading citizens of the metropolis. Many have given to its work wise counsels and self-sacrificing labors for successive years, and many have expressed their interest in its beneficent designs by generous legacies. Perhaps, however, the most impressive proof of the high regard in which the society is held by its friends residing in the city of New-York, is found in their bestowment of special contributions for the erection of the Bible House on Astor Place, which has for forty years been the center of its operations. Here are its presses, which print eight copies of the Scriptures every minute of every working day of the year; here its depository, from which the Word of Life is sent to all portions of the globe; here its valuable library of more than forty-seven hundred volumes, containing, among other valuable books, editions of the Holy Scriptures in more than one hundred and fifty languages and dialects. The board of managers of the society consists of thirty-six laymen, one

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fourth of whom retire from office each year, but are reëligible. The number of elected managers since the society was organized is two hundred and twenty-eight. Of many other matters the limits of this sketch will forbid mention, but we may not omit, in concluding, to state that the following persons have held the office of president of the society since its organization: the Hon. Elias Boudinot, Hon. John Jay, Hon. Richard Varick, Hon. John Cotton Smith, Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, Hon. Luther Bradock, James Lenox, William H. Allen, LL. D., S. Wells Williams, LL. D., Hon. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, and Hon. Enoch L. Fancher, LL. D. Portraits of the first seven of these distinguished men, and of President Williams and John Pintard, adorn the walls of the manager's room in the Bible House, as well as other portraits of honored officers of the society.

THE COOPER UNION

THE Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, for the free education of the people, is situated at the junction of Third and Fourth Avenues, and extends from Seventh to Eighth streets. It was founded by Peter Cooper, and incorporated and built by him in 1857. The six original trustees, to whom by the charter and trust deed were committed the operation and management of the institution, were Peter Cooper, Edward Cooper, Wilson G. Hunt, Abram S. Hewitt, John E. Parsons, and Daniel F. Tiemann. Peter Cooper died on April 4, 1883, and Wilson G. Hunt on December 7, 1892. The Cooper Union building is of brownstone, plain and massive in appearance, rhomboidal in shape, and seven stories high. The original cost of the building was $630,000, but since then more than $400,000 have been spent for additions and improvements. It has an endowment fund of $300,000. The expenses of maintaining the institution are about $50,000 a year, which is derived chiefly from the rents of stores and offices in the building, and the income from the endowment fund. Its object is to afford free education in science and art to persons of both sexes. In addition to this, there is a library containing about forty thousand volumes, consisting of works of reference, scientific works, books on industrial and mechanical arts, history and general literature. There are on file over five hundred newspapers and magazines, foreign and domestic. The daily average attendance is about fifteen hundred persons. It is open on week-days from 8 A. M. to 10 P. M., and on Sundays, from October to May, from 12 M. to 9 P. M.

One of the great features of the library is a complete set of both the old and new reports of the Patent Office, which are consulted yearly

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by a large number of persons. Each volume has been carefully indexed, making the collection invaluable for reference. The evening schools of science and art are attended by nearly two thousand students annually, mostly from the various trades and occupations of the city. None are admitted under the age of fifteen, or who are not acquainted with the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Women are admitted to the lectures and to the scientific classes, but not to the evening art-classes, with the exception of perspective and architectural drawing, as a special art-school is provided for women in the day. The instruction in the scientific department embraces a very full and thorough course of mathematics, including algebra, geometry, trigonometry, analytical and descriptive geometry, differential and integral calculus, applied mechanics, natural philosophy, elementary and analytical chemistry, astronomy, geology, and electrical measurements. To those who have finished the regular five years' course, the Cooper medal and the degree of bachelor of science are granted. The degrees of civil engineer and mechanical engineer are granted to graduates of the institution upon receipt of a certificate from an examining board that the degree is merited. Instruction is also given in elocution, in oratory, and in debating. There is a class for women in telegraphy, and also one in stenography and type-writing. The woman's art-school gives gratuitous instruction to about four hundred persons yearly. The course of instruction embraces oil-painting in still life and portraits, drawing from life, antique and elementary casts, photo-crayon, photo-color, retouching of negatives, pen-and-ink illustration, normal drawing and designing. The basement of the Union is occupied by a large hall, in which have taken place nearly all the great and famous political meetings held in New-York since the year 1860, lending a national historic importance to it. Every Saturday evening during the winter months, free lectures are given in this hall by prominent lecturers on travels, physical, domestic, political, social, and applied sciences, art, geography, literature, etc.

The fundamental basis of the Cooper Union is laid down in the following principles: First, that the details of the institution in all the departments should be arranged with especial reference to the intellectual wants and improvement of the working-classes; and, second, that as far as might be consistent with the first principle, all interference with the plan or objects of other existing institutions in this city should be avoided. Since its foundation it has demonstrated on a large scale the great uses of practical schools of science and art, by transferring the lives of thousands of young men and women from the unproductive or servile employments to which they would inevitably have fallen, to the higher plane of skilled artisans and original designers, or teachers in the workshops and schools of the country.

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As engineers, architects, builders, foremen of machine-shops, teachers of engraving, painting, drawing, designers for large firms, illustrators for periodicals, and even as professors in the higher departments of science, it can point to its pupils all over this country. They return the cost of their gratuitous education a thousandfold to the country, in the superior direction they give to its productive energies, and in the moral tone they diffuse among the people.

IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE POOR

THE New-York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor is a charitable society, duly incorporated, and exercising its functions the year round. It is supported by voluntary contributions, and is devoted to the interest of the working-classes and the laboring poor. The headquarters of the society are in the United Charities Building, 105 East Twenty-second street, New-York city. The association was formally incorporated in December, 1848, under "An Act for the Incorporation of Benevolent, Charitable, Scientific and Missionary Societies," chapter 319 of the laws of New-York, passed April 12, 1848; but the annals show that the society itself came into existence five years previously, viz., in January, 1843. The name and title of the society, as known in the law, is "The New-York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor." The particular business and objects of the association are the elevation of the physical and moral condition of the indigent, and, so far as is compatible with these objects, the relief of their necessities. It is entirely non-sectarian. It knows no race, religion, or nationality. It maintains a Harlem branch, and covers the entire city from the Battery to Two Hundred and Twenty-second street.

Public baths are conducted during every day of the year at the People's Bath-house, 9 Centre Market Place, at five cents each. The number of last year's bathers was 80,135. A People's Seaside Home is maintained at West Coney Island, where ocean parties, composed of mothers and children of worthy working people, are provided with fresh-air excursions, surf bathing, and substantial meals, free of cost, and where a term of rest and recreation is given to poor women and children. Number of last year's beneficiaries, 21,446. A Children's Convalescent Home, for the care and treatment of ailing, crippled, and convalescent children, is supported throughout the year at Chapel Hill, Atlantic Highlands. The membership fees of the association are as follows: life membership, $250; patron, per annum, $25; annual membership, $10 per annum. The board of managers consists of

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thirty members, chosen annually by ballot, and the officers consist of a president, five vice-presidents, one treasurer, one secretary, one counsel for the association, and one general agent, also elected annually. The work of the association is divided into departments, each department represented by a proper head. They all administer to the primal needs of the struggling poor. The following departments divide the work, namely: first, the department of finance; second, the department of temporary relief; third, the department of dwellings; fourth, the department of food supply; fifth, the department of schools and institutions; sixth, the department of hygiene. Each department is controlled by a committee of five members. At the head of the first department is the president of the board, and at the head of each of the others one of the five vice-presidents. A few explanatory remarks are necessary to be made with reference to each of these divisions.

First. The Department of Finance. To this department is intrusted the collection and management of all the funds of the association.

Second. The Department of Temporary Relief. This department deals with all applications for assistance, from whatever source they come. Its work includes temporary relief to the worthy poor in their dwellings, and the improvement and elevation of their home life, the furnishing of meals and lodgings to the indigent, and the finding and supplying of employment.

Third. The Department of Dwellings. To this department is committed the whole question of supervising the sanitary inspection of tenement-houses, the planning and building of model dwellings, and of promoting the formation of sound coöperative building societies.

Fourth. The Department of Food Supply. This department undertakes, in every practicable way, to spread among the people information in respect to the economic selection, purchase, and preparation of food, and can in its discretion establish cooking-schools and diet-kitchens.

Fifth. The Department of Schools and Institutions. This department gives its attention to the educational needs of children and young people, with special reference to those forms of training which are not provided by the municipal authorities, such as free kindergartens and sewing-schools.

Sixth. The Department of Hygiene. This department specially concerns itself with the bearing of light, air, and water upon the health of the poor. The people's baths and the fresh-air work of the society come under this head.

Attached to the department of temporary relief is a night office and a sewing bureau, the functions of which are as follows: The night office is open on week-days from 5 till 12 P. M., and on Sundays from 6 till 12 P. M. It offers an opportunity for safe reference to persons ac-

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costed at night, on the street or at their homes, by alms-seekers who ask money for food and shelter. It is controlled by a competent officer, who investigates the circumstances of all applicants for relief, and aids those found worthy, by meals, lodgings, and employment. Many unfortunates are thus uplifted and encouraged. The sewing bureau provides instant employment for the women of distressed families when work ceases for the men. It offers a practical form of work to poor women as a self-respecting aid to support.

The number of last year's beneficiaries was 38,227. There were 22,031 visits made in the interest of the poor, 3365 consultation cases disposed of, temporary or permanent work obtained for 1255, 818 friendless applicants relieved, 516 sanitary inspections made, 1000 wood-yard tickets given out, 16,000 yards of material used in the sewing bureau, 5400 cheap garments sold at cost to the poor, 7000 garments made up, and 2000 orders for sewing distributed; besides groceries, coal, shoes, meals, lodgings, and provisions to a large extent given to worthy people, and ninety-three frauds exposed.

The officers of the society for the year 1893 are as follows: President, John Paton; vice-presidents, William R. Huntington, D. D., R. Fulton Cutting, Henry E. Crampton, M. D., James A. Scrymser, William G. Hamilton; treasurer, Warner Van Norden; secretary, George Calder; counsel to the board, John L. Cadwalader; general agent, Francis S. Longworth.

SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS

THE founder and first president of the parent Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in America, was Henry Bergh. In the year 1862, Mr. Bergh was appointed secretary of legation at St. Petersburg, and while there witnessed many acts of cruelty inflicted upon helpless animals by the peasantry of Russia. He interfered on several occasions in behalf of the animals, and but for his official position he would no doubt have been severely dealt with. While in London, on his way back to America, he became acquainted with the Earl of Harrowby, the president of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, who gave him much information on the operations of that society, and greatly interested him in the work of animal protection. On his arrival at home, he set to work to organize a similar society in this country. The proposition was so novel that he met with very little encouragement. He persisted, however, and finally succeeded in interesting many well-known citizens in the work. On February 8, 1866, he delivered a lecture in Clinton Hall, on cruelties to which animals are constantly subjected even in civilized

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countries. His lecture was warmly received, and expressions of sympathy and offers of assistance were freely made. The publicity given to the lecture by the press aroused public sentiment, and an act to incorporate the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was passed April 10, 1866, by the legislature of the State of New-York. Among the charter members were the following well-known representative citizens: John T. Hoffman, Henry Grinnell, J. J. Astor, Jr., George Bancroft, Shepard Knapp, James T. Brady, John A. Dix, Marshall O. Roberts, James Brown, Horatio Potter, Thomas H. Taylor, Erastus Brooks, Charles P. Daly, Moses Taylor, George T. Trimble, John D. Wolfe, Henry W. Bellows, Peter Cooper, Francis B. Cutting, William H. Aspinwall, John Van Buren, Hamilton Fish, Daniel Parish, John J. Cisco, A. Oakey Hall, John McCloskey, William C. Bryant, Edward G. Steele, Horace Greeley, Samuel B. Ruggles, James Lenox, August Belmont, Moses H. Grinnell, William H. Webb, James Gallatin, Harper Brothers, James J. Roosevelt, C. V. S. Roosevelt, Alexander Stuart, D. C. Kingsland, James W. Gerard, Joseph P. Beach, George T. Olyphant, Oliver S. Strong, Henry Clews, Archibald Russell, Benjamin R. Winthrop, John A. Kennedy, Daniel Carpenter, George W. Dilks, Charles Addoms, George Griswold, Simeon Draper, Robert L. Stuart, Andrew Warner, Alexander T. Stewart, Daniel Butterfield, A. C. Kingsland, E. A. Washburn, M. S. Beach, John D. Jones, Frank Leslie, William Coventry, H. Waddell, Charles A. Bristed, Thomas C. Acton, William McMurray, James Leonard, Abram D. Russel, Henry Bergh.

A meeting to effect a permanent organization was held on Monday, April 22, 1866, in Clinton Hall, and at that meeting the first society for the protection of animals in this country was organized. The purpose of the association, as set forth in its title, was to provide effective means for the prevention of cruelty to animals throughout the United States, and to enforce all laws which then were or might thereafter be enacted for the protection of animals, and to secure by lawful means the arrest and conviction of all persons found violating such laws. As a matter of fact, there were at that time no laws on the statute-books to prevent and punish cruelty to animals. April 19, 1866, Mr. Bergh succeeded in having the first specific law passed for the protection of animals, in the following language: "Every person who shall by his act or neglect maliciously kill, maim, wound, injure, torture, or cruelly beat any horse, mule, cow, cattle, sheep, or other animal, belonging to himself or another, shall, upon conviction, be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor." This act was amended April 12, 1867, by an "act for the more effectual prevention of cruelty to animals," embodying provisions which were omitted in the previous act. These laws have been from time to time amended, until now there

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is hardly a phase of cruelty which the society has not the legal power to prevent. The legal definition of the word "animal" now includes every living creature, except members of the human race, and the word "torture" or "cruelty" includes every act, omission, or neglect whereby unjustifiable physical pain or death is caused or permitted.

The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals is now one of the recognized institutions of the country, and its authority is everywhere respected. The police officers of the society wear a distinctive uniform and patrol the streets by day and by night. They have full power to arrest and prosecute offenders against the laws relating to animals. In addition to the uniformed force, over three hundred special agents, residing in different parts of the State of New-York, and having the same authority as the former, are engaged in enforcing the laws against cruelty. The society has several ambulances for the removal of injured, sick, or otherwise disabled animals; appliances for the rescue of drowning animals, and animals which have fallen into excavations; and a patrol wagon which carries with it the necessary apparatus and medicines for first aid to injured animals that may be found upon the streets. The official organ of the society is "Our Animal Friends," a monthly magazine which has an extensive circulation, and the object of which is to extend the influence of the society and to promote the cause of humanity to all living creatures. Throngh the influence and example of the parent society, laws for the protection of animals have been enacted in every State of the Union, and kindred organizations have been formed to enforce them. The latter have adopted the device of the parent society.

The officers of the society for 1893 are: President, John P. Haines; vice-presidents, Elbridge T. Gerry, Benjamin D. Hicks, Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix, Frederic Gallatin, William C. Schermerhorn, Alfred Wagstaff, Morris K. Jesup, John Claflin, Parke Godwin; executive committee, Elbridge T. Gerry, Benjamin D. Hicks, Charles Lanier, Anson Phelps Stokes, Joseph H. Choate, Arthur B. Claflin, George G. Haven, Horace Russell, Edward A. Hammond, George G. DeWitt, James Grant Wilson, Frederic R. Coudert, William Waldorf Astor, Frederick W. Vanderbilt, and William Fahnestock. The headquarters of the society for the present are at 10 East Twenty-second street, New-York.

SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN

THE New-York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children came into existence under the following circumstances: In 1874, in a miserable little room on the highest floor of a tenement-house of New-

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York city, a dying woman lay in the last stages of consumption. A charitable lady visited her, and inquired what assistance could be afforded. The sufferer replied, "My time is short, but I cannot die in peace while the miserable girl whom they call Mary Ellen is being beaten, day and night, by her stepmother, next door to my room." She then stated that the screams of the child were heard repeatedly, and that it was kept locked up, and that this had been so for months. Prompted by the natural instinct of humanity, the lady first sought the aid of the police, but she was told that it was necessary to furnish evidence before the arrest could be made. "Unless you can prove that an offense has been committed, we cannot interfere, and all you know is hearsay." She next went to several benevolent societies in the city, whose object it was to care for children, and asked their interference in behalf of the child. The reply was, "If the child is legally brought to us, and is a proper subject, we will take it, otherwise we cannot act in the matter." She then consulted several excellent charitable gentlemen as to what she should do. They replied, "It is a dangerous thing to interfere between parent and child, and you might get yourself into trouble if you did so, as parents are proverbially the best guardians of their own children." Finally, in despair, and with the piteous appeals of the dying woman still ringing in her ears, she said, "I will make one more effort to save this child. There is one man in this city who has never turned a deaf ear to the cry of the helpless, and who has spent his life in just this work for the benefit of unoffending animals. I will go to Henry Bergh." She went, and the rescue of little Mary Ellen followed, by officers connected with the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, of which Mr. Bergh was president. The woman, whose name was Connolly, was arrested and sent to the penitentiary, and the child was provided with a home, and is to-day the wife of a well-to-do young farmer in the middle of the State, and the mother of a happy family.

Owing to the public attention which was attracted to this case, complaints of physical suffering inflicted upon children poured in upon Mr. Bergh from every quarter, and he soon found that it interfered materially with the work of his own admirable institution. A meeting of citizens was called by him on the subject, which resulted in the incorporation of the New-York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, under an act passed by the legislature of this State for that purpose in 1875. The names of the incorporators are as follows: John D. Wright, Henry Bergh, Elbridge T. Gerry, Benjamin H. Field, William L. Jenkins, John Howard Wright, Ferdinand de Luca, Sinclair Tousey, William M. Vermilye, Thomas C. Acton, Charles Haight, Adrian Iselin, Jr., Benjamin B. Sherman, Richard R. Haines, James Stokes, William H. Webb, Frederic de Peyster, and Harmon Hen-

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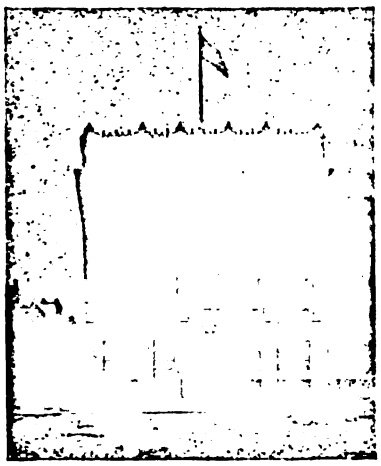
dricks. John D. Wright was the first president. Upon his death in 1879, Elbridge T. Gerry was unanimously elected his successor. The work has extended so largely that now, throughout the entire United States, in nearly a hundred cities and towns, and in England, France, Italy, South America, Australia, the West Indies, and Canada, similar societies exist, forming an immense network for the purpose of protecting children in their rights, and preventing their abuse and degradation. The work of the society at its outset is well set forth by the president in its tenth annual report, as follows:

> Impecunious parents drove them from their miserable homes at all hours of the day and night to beg and steal. They were trained as acrobats at the risk of life and limb, and beaten cruelly if they failed. They were sent at night to procure liquor for parents too drunk to venture themselves into the streets. They were drilled in juvenile operas and song-and-dance variety business until their voices were cracked, their growth stunted, and their health permanently ruined by exposure and want of rest. Numbers of young Italians were imported by *padroni* under promises of a speedy return, and then sent out on the streets to play on musical instruments, to peddle flowers and small wares to the passers-by, and too often as a cover for immorality. Their surroundings were those of vice, profanity, and obscenity. Their only amusements were the dance-halls, the cheap theaters and museums, and the saloons. Their acquaintances were those hardened in sin, and both boys and girls soon became adepts in crime, and entered unhesitatingly on the downward path. Beaten and abused at home, treated worse than animals, no other result could be expected. In the prisons, to which sooner or later these unhappy children gravitated, there was no separation of them from hardened criminals. Their previous education in vice rendered them apt scholars in the school of crime, and they ripened into criminals as they advanced in years.

Its eighteenth annual report shows that during that number of years of its existence 69,737 complaints have been received and investigated, involving the care and custody of over 209,000 children; 24,581 cases have been prosecuted, 23,947 convictions secured, and 36,359 children rescued and relieved. During the year 1892, 7994 complaints were received and investigated, 3299 prosecuted, 3250 convicted, and 3726 children rescued and relieved from destitution and vicious surroundings. The reception-rooms have sheltered, fed, and clothed 1801 children, and 2233 cases have been investigated at the request of the police justices and courts. These cases involved applications for the commitment of 3659 children; 1847 of these were committed, and 1812 found to be improper cases,—thus saving to the city and county of New-York, at the per capita allowance of $104 per year



THE SOCIETY BUILDING.

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for each year the children remained therein, the total sum of $188,448. With the coöperation of the police justices, the society has been able to collect from the parents of children committed to institutions, $7773.75, and that amount has been paid over to the respective institutions, to be credited to the city and county of New-York.

The society has been most active in procuring proper legislation on the subject, and the provisions of the penal code relating to children have been copied by many legislatures throughout the United States, and furnish the basis of the laws under which these various societies act. It has recently, owing to the liberality of its patrons, and notably of the wife of one of its founders, constructed a large building on the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third street, which is the largest institution of the kind in the world, being seven stories in height. Elbridge T. Gerry is still president of the society.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE THEATERS OF NEW-YORK

THE actual genesis of the New-York theater has been supposed by some authorities to be almost mythical. All that has been known hitherto on the subject, according to the most accurate and painstaking of the chroniclers of the early American stage, is "that a regularly organized theatrical company played in New-York as early as 1732." Although we have been left in the dark as to what pieces they performed, as well as to other particulars, still we have an inkling as to the locality in the city where they may have acted, from a tradition which tells us that "the earliest theatricals in New-York were in a store on Cruger's wharf, near Old Slip, where a number of young men used to amuse themselves with amateur performances." That there was a deep-rooted prejudice against the theater in the minds of early New-Yorkers is unquestionable, as evidenced by the attempted action of the authorities on no less than three occasions, in 1750, 1753, and 1761. And this is not to be wondered at, for the minds of the Dutch colonists, from the first settlement of Manhattan Island, ran in a different groove altogether. They, as well as the sprinkling of French Huguenots and English Puritans, who constituted the population of New Amsterdam, were chiefly a simple, frugal, and pious people whose principal thoughts were almost entirely devoted to trading and agriculture. The mimic war of the stage would most likely have been unheeded in the presence of the real battles waged with Indians and the troubles occasioned by rival English and Swedish settlers along the Connecticut and Delaware rivers.

The amusements of the Dutch colonists were as primitive as their lives. An occasional game of bowls, and a dance in the gloaming, on holidays, around the May-pole set up on "the Plain," now known as Bowling Green, constituted the principal pleasures of a community who retired at sunset. The only declamations listened to by them were the theological discourses of the "domine," or, perchance, the harangues of some embryonic Jacob Leisler. The British occupation of 1664 changed matters somewhat. New-York's population began to in-

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clude more of the official and leisure class, who were not only freer in their ways, but familiar with the habits and customs of England under the last two Stuart kings, as well, perhaps, as with the plays of the Elizabethan and Restoration dramatists. There were also more professional men, attorneys, physicians, surgeons, and schoolmasters, who had received a liberal education for those seventeenth-century days. Under the auspices of Governor Francis Lovelace, a race-track was established at Hempstead. There were also pleasure-groves, such as Adam Van Denberg's Garden. But it required many years to have the drama acclimatized, and as late as the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century it was a comparatively unknown quantity in the city of New-York.

William Smith, in his "History of the Province of New-York," makes no allusion to a theater on Manhattan Island, although he writes that "New York is one of the most social places on the continent. The men collect themselves into weekly evening clubs. The ladies in winter are frequently entertained, either at concerts of music or assemblies, and make a very good appearance." From the above and similar evidence one might be forced to believe that for nearly a century and a half after the occupation by the Dutch of Manhattan Island, with the exception of the dramatic dialogues in accompaniment of an occasional puppet-show and the efforts of the few amateur actors who met in "a store on Cruger's wharf," all matters theatrical were more or less repudiated by the phlegmatic but business-minded primitive inhabitants of New-York. Yet there had been acting going on in New-York city before 1732, the period assigned by Seilhamer as the time when "a regularly organized theatrical company" first played in New-York; and, furthermore, a "Play House" did probably exist there before October, 1733. An interesting discovery recently made by Thomas J. McKee leads us to an altogether different view, in some respects, of the beginning of the drama on Manhattan Island from that previously entertained by Daly, Dunlap, Ireland, Seilhamer, and Wemyss.

The first actor who ever played in America was Anthony Aston, and he did so, before the year 1731, in New-York city and elsewhere on this continent. In "The Fool's Opera; or, The Taste of the Age, written by Mat. Medley, and Performed by His Company," Mr. McKee found the fact stated above to be certainly inferred from that octavo brochure of twenty-two pages, which was published in 1731 by T. Payne, at the Crown in Paternoster Row, London, and the author of which was Anthony Aston, under the pseudonym of "Mat. Medley." At the end of this extremely rare little volume—which is decorated with a frontispiece, rudely cut on wood, depicting "Mr. Aston, sen., Mr. Aston, jun., Mrs. Motteux, Mrs. Smith," respectively, in the characters of "Poet, Fool, Lady, Maid"—are eight pages of "A Sketch of the Life,

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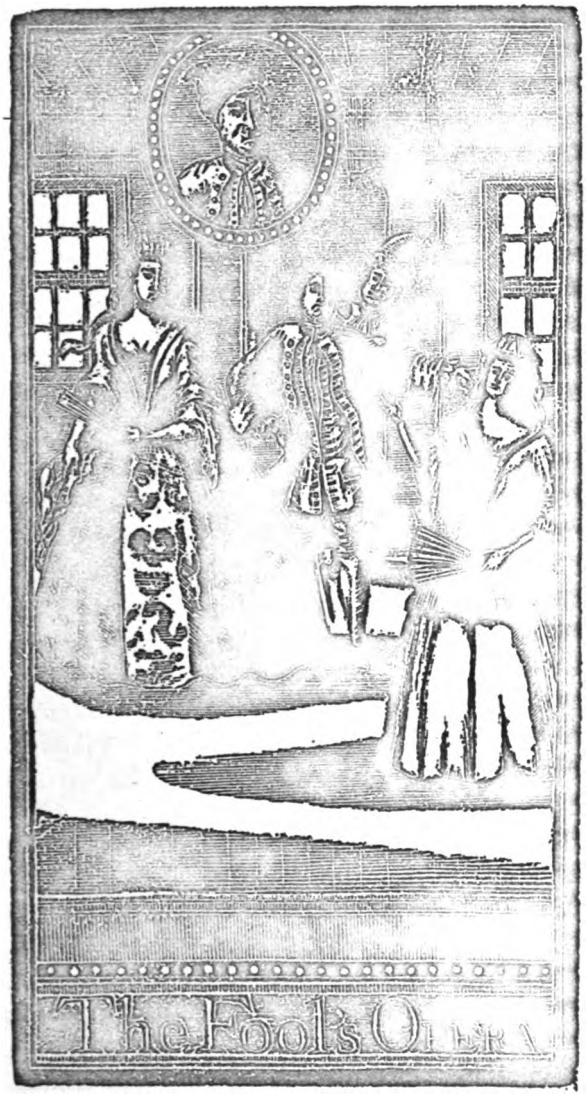
etc., of Mr. Anthony Aston, Commonly call'd Tony Aston. Written by Himself: — — — Now All Alive." In this Aston describes himself as "a Gentleman, Lawyer, Poet, Actor, Soldier, Sailor, Exciseman, Publican in England, Scotland, Ireland, New-York, East and West Jersey, Maryland, Virginia (on both sides Cheesapeek,) North and South Carolina, South Florida, Bahamas, Jamaica, Hispaniola, and often a Coaster by all the same." Then he tells of his first theatrical experience in London, when he "went to see Dogget make comical Faces in the two last Acts," and how later he "went into the Old Play-house and succeeded in many Characters," and "traveled with Mr. Cash, Dogget, Booker, Mins." Also of his voyage to Jamaica in the ship Diligence, and after leaving that West Indian island of being "Castaway in the Gulph, on the South Sand of Port Royal Harbour, twenty Leagues Southward of the Harbour of Charles-Town in South Carolina"; and after divers "Horrors" how he "arriv'd in Charles-Town full of . . . Shame, Poverty, Nakedness and Hunger," and soon after "turn'd Player and Poet, and wrote one Play on the subject of the Country." Next, how after being wrecked a second time he returned to Charlestown, where he "got a frank Passage for New York a Board a Sloop of Wessel Wessels, Cobus Kirstead, Master, but being in November, the Norwesters blew us from the New-York Coast." Then, after reaching "Nanticoke River," how he was entertained by



FRONTISPIECE TO "THE FOOL'S OPERA."

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Justice Hickes, a Quaker, who "lent me, Dick Oglethorp and Lewen (both Passengers) Horses to Newcastle in Philadelphia. We lay at Story's—enjoy'd—rode through Elizabeth-Town, and so in Packet to New-York. There I lighted of my old Acquaintance Jack Charlton, Fencing-Master,—and Counsellor Reignieur, sometime of Lincoln's-Inn, supply'd me with Business,—'till I had the honour of being acquainted with that brave, honest, unfortunate Gentleman, Capt. Henry Pullein, whose ship (the Fame) was burnt in the Bermudas; he (to the best of his Ability) assisted me—so that after acting, writing, courting, fighting that Winter—My kind Captain Davis, in his Sloop built at Rhode, gave me free Passage for Virginia. . . ." Anthony Aston, who gives us many other details than those quoted, went back to England, where he continued in the profession of an actor till he "set up his Medley." From the foregoing quotations it is clear that Aston was before 1731 in New-York city "acting," and either gave there a dramatic entertainment of the character of the "Fool's Opera," or was associated with other players. There is an account given of this first known actor in America in the first volume of "Biographia Dramatica," by Baker, Reed, and Jones; and we are there informed that "he was bred an attorney; but having a smattering of humour, he left the study of the law for the stage. He played in all the theatres in London, but never long in any of them, being of too flighty a disposition to settle anywhere. His way of living was peculiar to himself and family; resorting to the principal cities and towns in England with his Medley, as he called it, which was composed of some capital scenes of humour out of the most celebrated plays. His company consisted of himself, his wife, and son; and between every scene a song or dialogue of his own was sung or performed, to fill up the interval." It was probably a dramatic entertainment of that kind with which about 1730 he favored New-Yorkers.

Whether this was so or not, "a change came o'er the spirit of their dream" in the year 1750, when, on February 26, appeared in the "Weekly Post-boy" the announcement that there had arrived the preceding week "a company of comedians from Philadelphia, who, we hear, have taken a convenient room for their purpose in one of the buildings lately belonging to the Hon. Rip Van Dam, deceased, in Nassau Street, where they intend to perform as long as the season lasts, provided they meet with suitable encouragement." On March 5 the same newspaper published the following advertisement, the first theatrical one, so far as known, that was ever seen in a New-York journal: "By his Excellency's Permission. At the Theatre in Nassau Street, This Evening will be presented The Historical Tragedy of 'King Richard III.' Wrote originally by Shakespeare and altered by Colley Cibber, Esq. Tickets to be had of the Printer hereof. Pitt, 5*s*.

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Gallery, 3s. To begin precisely at Half an Hour after 6 o'clock, and no person to be admitted behind the scenes." The first theater on Manhattan Island of which there is definite information was situated on the east side of Nassau street, previously known as Kip street, in the vicinity of the Dutch Church; and in a room that would barely hold three hundred persons the New-York Stage, with its grand traditions, was evolved. The managers of this company, the first positively known to America of whom we have reliable details, were Murray and Kean. The stock star, who bore a now historic name in dramatic annals, was Thomas Kean. Originally a writer by profession, he became the first Richard III. and Captain Macheath on the American stage. The associate leading man of Kean was John Tremain, whilom a cabinet-maker by trade; other members of the company were Woodham, Jago, Scott, Leigh, Smith, Moore, and Marks, Master Murray, Misses Osborne and George, and Mesdames Taylor, Osborne, Leigh, and Davis. They probably comprised all the "Thespians of home-made production" who had been arrested and "bound over to their good behavior" the year before in Philadelphia, in consequence, as the recorder, William Allen, said, of their "drawing great sums of money from weak and inconsiderate persons who are apt to be fond of such entertainment, though the performance be ever so mean."

Benefits were begun for members of the company on January 7, 1751, at which were produced various plays or farces by Centlivre, Philips, and others, in addition to those already performed. Mrs. Taylor, although she had two benefits, "endeavoured to perform her part in a worse manner than she was capable," thereby causing it to be necessary for Mr. Kean, in the "Post-boy," to state that "there was no falling out between her and me." But shortly after, "by the advice of several gentlemen in town who are his friends," he deemed it desirable "to quit the stage, and follow his employment of writing, wherein he hopes for encouragement." The other benefits were characteristic of the period, Mr. Jago receiving his, "as he has never had a benefit before, and is just out of prison"; the "poor Widow Osborne" hers, because she had "met with divers late Hardships and Misfortunes"; and Mrs. Davis hers, "to enable her to buy off her time." At one of them were given "a Harlequin dance, a Pierot dance, and the Drunken Peasant, all by a gentleman recently from London." In November, 1750, when performances were being given on Mondays and Thursdays, the management announced that "the house being new-floored is made warm and comfortable, besides which Gentlemen and Ladies may cause their stoves to be brought." No new flooring could, however, save the company. which was disbanded on July 8, 1751, and the lone leading man of the Kean and Murray combination left, announcing shortly after that "John Tremain, having declined the

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New-York, November 12, 1753.

By a Company of COMEDIANS,

At the New-Theatre, in *Nassau-Street*,

This Evening, being the 12th of *November*, will be presented,

(By particular Desire)

An *Historical Play*, call'd,

King RICHARD III.

CONTAINING

The Distresses and Death of King *Henry* the VIth; the artful Acquisition of the Crown by *Crook-back'd Richard*; the Murder of the two young Princes in the Tower; and the memorable Battle of *Bosworth-Field*, being the last that was fought between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*.

Richard,	by	Mr. *Rigby*.
King *Henry*,	by	Mr. *Hallam*.
Prince *Edward*,	by	Master *L. Hallam*.
Duke of *York*,	by	Master *A. Hallam*.
Earl of *Richmond*,	by	Mr. *Clarkson*.
Duke of *Buckingham*,	by	Mr. *Malone*.
Duke of *Norfolk*,	by	Mr. *Miller*.
Lord *Stanley*,	by	Mr. *Singleton*.
Lieutenant,	by	Mr. *Bell*.
Catesby,	by	Mr. *Adcock*.
Queen *Elizabeth*,	by	Mrs. *Hallam*.
Lady *Anne*,	by	Mrs. *Adcock*.
Duchess of *York*,	by	Mrs. *Rigby*.

To which will be added,

A Ballad FARCE, call'd,

The *DEVIL TO PAY*.

Sir *John Loverule*,	by	Mr. *Adcock*.
Jobson,	by	Mr. *Malone*.
Butler,	by	Mr. *Miller*.
Footman,	by	Mr. *Singleton*,
Cook,	by	Mr. *Bell*.
Coachman,	by	Mr. *Rigby*.
Conjurer,	by	Mr. *Clarkson*.
Lady *Loverule*,	by	Mrs. *Adcock*.
Nell,	by	Mrs. *Beccelev*,
Lettice,	by	Mrs. *Clarkson*.
Lucy,	by	Miss *Love*.

PRICES: BOX, 6*s*. PIT, 4*s*. GALLERY, 2*s*.

No Persons whatever, to be admitted behind the Scenes.

N. B. Gentlemen and Ladies that chuse Tickets, may have them at Mr. Parker's *and Mr.* Gaine's *Printing-Offices.*

Money will be taken at the DOOR.

To begin at 6 o'Clock.

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stage," had returned to the more congenial task of cabinet-making, and that his patrons would be "supplied at the cheapest rates."

The Nassau Street Theater was reopened six months thereafter by Robert Upton, who arrived from England before the winter of 1751. He had been sent across the Atlantic by William and Lewis Hallam, with "no inconsiderable sum" of money, in the interests of their company of comedians, "to obtain Permission to perform, erect a building, and settle everything." Instead of doing anything of the kind, "Advance Agent" Upton not only "quite neglected the business" he was sent about from the mother country, but with the money of his employers was enabled to become the bright particular star of "a sett of pretenders," who were no less than some of the reunited members of the "company of comedians from Philadelphia," with John Tremain, actor and cabinet-maker, at their head. Upton made his first appearance on the American stage on the evening of December 26, 1751. He assumed the title rôle of "Othello," and thereby presented to an American audience the second Shakespearian play, bowing himself into dramatic history as the first Othello in this country. Mrs. Upton supported him as Desdemona, and Tremain as Iago. They continued to play at the Nassau Street Theater until March 4, 1752, when Upton finally retired from the stage. In addition to most of the Murray and Kean repertoire, he introduced "Othello," Vanbrugh's

For the Benefit of the Poor.

Thurſday, December 20, 1753.

At the New Theatre in *Naſſau-Street.*

This Evening, will be preſented,

(Being the laſt Time of performing till the Holidays.)

A COMEDY, called,

LOVE for LOVE:

Sir Sampſon Legend,	by Mr. Malone.
Valentine,	by Mr. Righy.
Scandal,	by Mr. Ball.
Tattle,	by Mr. Singleton.
Ben (the Sailor,)	by Mr. Hallam.
Forefight,	by Mr. Clarkſon.
Jeremy,	by Mr. Miller.
Buckram,	by Mr. Adcock.
Angelica,	by Mrs. Hallam.
Mrs. Forefight,	by Mrs. Righy.
Mrs. Frail,	by Mrs. Adcock.
Miſs Prue,	by Miſs Hallam.
Nurſe,	by Mrs. Clarkſon.

End of Act 1ſt, Singing by Mr. *Adcock.*
End of Act 2d, Singing by Mrs. *Love.*
In Act 3d, a Hornpipe by Mr *Hulett*
End of Act 4th, a Cantata by Mrs. *Love.*

To which will be added, a Ballad Farce, called,

FLORA. or, Hob in the Well.

Hob,	by Mr. Hallam.
Friendly,	by Mr. Adcock.
Sir Thomas Loftey,	by Mr. Clarkſon.
Richard,	by Maſter L. Hallam.
Old Hob,	by Mr. Miller.
Flora,	by Mrs. Beecky.
Amy,	by Miſs Hallam.
Hob's Mother.	by Mrs. Clarkſon.

Prices. *BOX,* 6s. *PIT,* 4s. *GALLERY,* 2s.

No Perſons whatever to be admitted behind the Scenes.

FAC-SIMILE OF EARLY PLAYBILL.[1]

[1] From the original in the possession of Edward Harrigan, of New-York, author, actor, and manager.

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"Provoked Husband," Otway's "Venice Preserved," Garrick's "Lethe," and Dodsley's "Miller of Mansfield."

The Hallams, who should be considered the real fathers of the American stage, next appeared upon the scene. They styled themselves the "London Company of Comedians Lately Arrived from Virginia," and in April, 1752, set sail from England on board of the ship Charming Sally, commanded by Captain William Lee, and "arrived after a very expensive and tiresome Voyage at York River on the 28th of June following." After appearing at Williamsburg, Va., and perhaps elsewhere, Lewis Hallam and his company, in June, 1753, reached New-York. Here they found difficulty in obtaining consent to commence their play-acting, as the authorities refused them permission to appear before the public. They presented to the chief executive of the province a certificate signed by Governor Dinwiddie, testifying to their decent and upright conduct while in Virginia. They also told the story of Upton's wickedness, and insisted that the crimes of another should be no bar to their efforts on Manhattan Island, as they were able to properly present "the instructive and elegant Entertainment of the Stage," and "capable of supporting its dignity with proper Decorum and Regularity." They were as fortunate in their pleas as the former companies, and duly received "His Excellency's Authority." They built "a fine large theatre in the place where the old one stood," and first appeared in New-York on September 17, 1753, according to the playbill published on that day in the "New-York Gazette, or Weekly Post-boy," which begins: "By His Excellency's Authority. By a Company of Comedians from London, At the New Theatre in Nassau Street, This Evening will be Presented, a Comedy, called 'The Conscious Lovers.'" The playbill concludes with the following: "A New Occasional Prologue to be Spoken by Mr. Rigby, and an Epilogue (Addressed to the Ladies) by Mrs. Hallam. Prices: Box, 8*s*. Pit, 6*s*. Gallery, 3*s*. No Persons whatever to be Admitted behind the Scenes. N. B.—Gentlemen and Ladies that chuse Tickets, may have them at the New Printing Office in Beaver Street. To Begin at 6 o'clock." It may be noticed here that the prices were reduced on the second night, and a month later seats in the pit were sold at four shillings, and in the gallery at two shillings. The company continued to act until March 18, 1754, the days of performance being Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, with a weekly change of bill.

William Hallam was the capitalist of the company, and Lewis Hallam, Sr., the star and manager. Both are said to have been connected with the Goodman's Fields Theatre, in London. Lewis Hallam appears to have been a fair actor. His wife was, from all accounts, "a woman of great beauty and elegance"; and the New-

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York public, according to the dramatic historian Ireland, "regarded her with admiration reaching almost to idolatry." The second performance took place on September 24, and was the play of "Tunbridge Walks," Mr. Malone taking the leading part of Woodcock, and Mrs. Hallam of Hillaria. The audience represented a fair percentage of the population of New-York, which then consisted of some ten thousand whites and two thousand negro slaves. Other plays quickly followed that had not been presented in New-York. Among these were "King Lear," with Mr. Malone in the title rôle and Mrs. Hallam as Cordelia; and "Romeo and Juliet," with Mr. Rigby as Romeo and Mrs. Hallam as Juliet. The pieces chosen were those most popular in London, and included the best of Steele, Cibber, Farquhar, Fielding, Congreve, Gay, Garrick, Dodsley, and Rowe. The management was quite up to the times, for some of the productions were given the same year that they were first produced in London — as, for instance, Garrick's "Miss in Her Teens." The London Company of Comedians, which had worked on shares, disbanded at Philadelphia on June 27, 1754, and Lewis Hallam died in the island of Jamaica a few years afterward. The Nassau Street Theater was in 1758 converted into a church by a German Calvinist congregation, who pulled it down in 1765 and erected on its site a larger edifice, which remained until 1810.

IN TRINITY CHURCHYARD.

The next theater was that built in 1758 on Cruger's wharf, between Coenties and Old Slips, on the Front-street line. It is simply styled, in dramatic records, "a building suitable for the purpose." The proprietor and manager was David Douglass, whom Wemyss calls "a gentleman by birth and fortune," who by his marriage with Lewis Hallam's widow was placed "on the theatrical throne of the Western Hemisphere." When Douglass, having attempted to open the Cruger's Wharf Theater, had "received an absolute and positive denial from the authorities," he made an appeal to the public in the columns of Gaine's "Mercury." He stated how he had "begged in the humblest manner" of the magistrates to "indulge him in acting as many plays as would barely defray the expenses," but was "peremptorily refused." Douglass next explained in a card in the same journal, on December 8, 1758, how he had conceived the happy thought of starting "a Histrionic Academy," in which plays would be performed, or rather recitations given, — in costume, perchance, — authorities or no authorities to the contrary notwithstanding. The magistracy there-

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upon relented, and on December 28, 1758, the new theater was opened with Rowe's "Jane Shore." "Richard III.," Home's "Douglas," and other popular plays were presented at frequent intervals, the performances concluding with "Damon and Phillida" on February 7, 1759, "being positively the last time of acting in this city, at the theater on Mr. Cruger's wharf," which thus passes out of dramatic history.

The Chapel Street Theater was the next building erected in New-York city especially devoted to the drama. It was situated near Nassau street, on the south side of Beekman street, then styled Chapel street. It was constructed of wood by Philip Miller for Douglass, at a cost of $1625; yet it would hold a four-hundred-and-fifty-dollar audience. The scenery and wardrobe were worth a thousand dollars. Two circumstances in connection with the Chapel Street Theater should be mentioned. One—the presence of visitors behind the scenes—led probably to the other, the first "egging" known to the American stage. Both are preserved to us through "cards" printed in the columns of Gaine's "Mercury." The first reads:

Complaints having been several times made that a number of gentlemen crowd the stage and very much interrupt the performance, and as it is impossible that the actors, when thus obstructed, should do that justice to their parts they otherwise would, it will be taken as a particular favor if no gentleman will be offended that he is absolutely refused admittance at the stage door, unless he has previously secured himself a place in either the stage or upper boxes.

The other card states:

Theatre in New-York, May 3, 1762.—A Pistole reward will be given to whoever can discover the person who was so very rude as to throw Eggs from the Gallery upon the stage last Monday, by which the Cloaths of some Ladies and Gentlemen were spoiled, and the performance in some measure interrupted. D. DOUGLASS.

Evidently the audiences were seriously annoyed by the men about town flirting in public with the ladies of the company and while performances were going on. Burns's New Assembly Room was utilized in 1767 for theatrical performances. It was here that David Douglass gave his famous "Lecture on Heads," and that such amateur entertainments occurred as, for instance, when Thomas Otway's "Orphan" was played "by Gentlemen and Ladies for their Amusement."

The Chapel Street Theater was superseded by the John Street Theater, situated near Broadway. Reference is made to it in Judge Royall Tyler's "Contrast," which was the "first American play produced in New-York, and the first comedy by an American that was American in theme." Ireland, however, gives a better description as follows: "The building was an unsightly object, principally of wood, painted red, and stood about sixty feet back from the street, having a covered way of rough wooden material from the pavement to the

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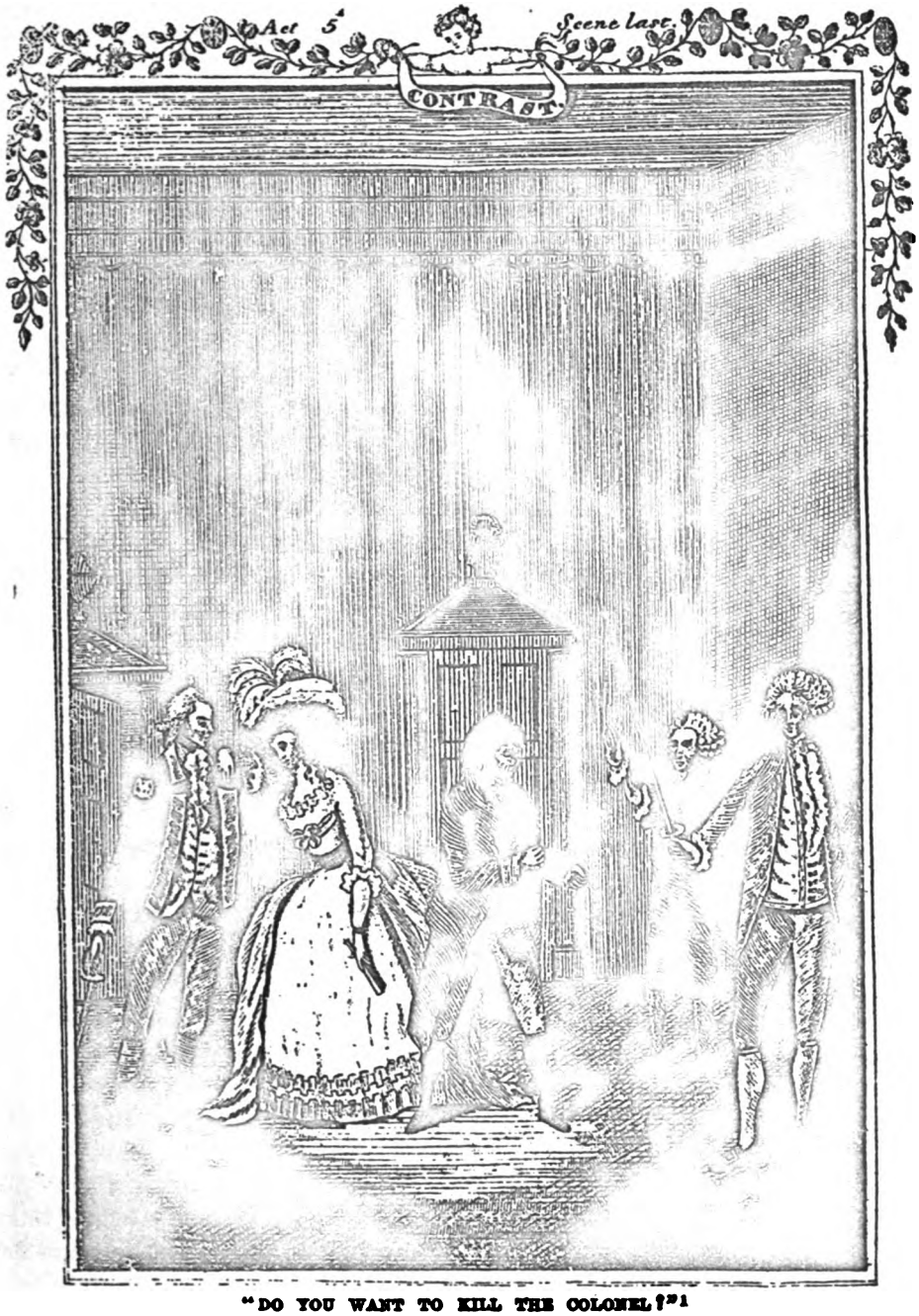

"DO YOU WANT TO KILL THE COLONEL?"[1]

[1] "The Contrast: A Comedy in Five Acts, by a Citizen of the United States," Philadelphia, 1790, was written by Royall Tyler. It was the first play represented by a regular company on the American stage from the pen of an American author. A copy of this brochure which belonged to Washington, with his familiar autograph on the title-page, is included in the collection of Samuel P. Avery, of this city. The above frontispiece was engraved by Maverick from a drawing by William Dunlap. It is believed to represent a scene in the old John Street Theater, and contains portraits of Mrs. Morris as Charlotte, Lewis Hallam, Jr., as Dimple, John Henry as Colonel Manly, Owen Morris as Van Rough, and Thomas Wignell as Jonathan. EDITOR.

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doors. The stage was of good dimensions, and the dressing-room and greenroom were originally under it, but after the Revolution they were removed to a wing added for the purpose on the west side. The auditorium was fitted up with a pit, two rows of boxes and a gallery, and when full, at usual prices, would contain eight hundred dollars." Lewis Hallam, Jr., and John Henry opened the John Street Theater on December 7, 1767, with the "Beaux Stratagem," by the American Company, at "six, exactly." Seats had to be reserved in accordance with the following suggestion on the playbill: "Ladies will please send their servants to keep their places at four o'clock. 'Vivant Rex et Regina.'" Mr. and Mrs. Douglass, Mr. Morris, Mr. Malone, and young Hallam were the principal members of the reorganized stock company, which also included Mr. Henry, the original American Sir Peter Teazle. He is described as "a man of extraordinarily fine personal appearance." His first wife was the eldest Miss Storer, who was burned to death at sea. Later he married or rather gave his name to two of her sisters, one of whom, Maria, was "a perfect fairy in figure." Mr. Wall was the walking gentleman, and the leading-lady business was divided between Mrs. Douglass and Miss Cheer. Mrs. Harman, another member of the company, Dunlap states, was a granddaughter of Colley Cibber.

The history of the John Street Theater is replete with interesting episodes that happened before the Revolution. The theater was closed after an excellent season, pecuniarily speaking, until 1773, when it was opened in April with one of Murphy's comedies, to be reclosed in August, when its last pre-Revolutionary performance, "She Stoops to Conquer," was given. Public excitement running too high for the safety of the performers, who were perpetually annoyed by the gallery, the company retired to the West Indies, where David Douglass left the stage, eventually becoming the extremely loyalist chief justice of Jamaica. The theater was closed the year following, upon the Provincial Congress passing a resolution suspending all public amusements. During the occupation of New-York by Lord Howe and Sir Henry Clinton, the officers of the British regiments reopened the John Street Theater with the title of the Theatre Royal, and frequently performed there for charitable objects. They had several seasons, the first beginning January, 1777, and the last ending April, 1782. The best English classical plays were produced, and King George's officers did not hesitate to appear in most of the parts common to leading professionals. The John Street Theater was again opened in June, 1782, with a company managed by Dennis Ryan, an actor of repute. "Macbeth," "Richard III.," "George Barnwell," and others of the old repertoire were represented,

[1] See Volume II, Chapter xiii, pages 522-526.

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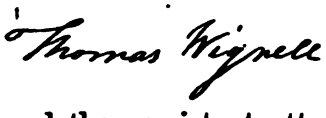
together with newer plays, including "Oroonoko." New-York was then held by the royal troops. Ryan's company included many performers of ability. One of them, however,—Mrs. Fitzgerald, who had played Miss Hardcastle,—disappeared somewhat suddenly. Ryan advertised for her, charging her with "entering into articles of indenture and immediately absconding," and offered a reward of twenty pounds sterling to any person who would "bring her to justice."

The first company of comedians who acted in New-York under the American flag appeared under the management of Hallam and Henry, who had returned from their enforced retirement in the West Indies. Desultory performances were given between August and October, 1785, Lewis Hallam advertising them as "Courses of Lectures," each of them with a prologue and pantomime. It was not until November 21, 1785, that the John Street Theater was reopened with a full company, and the house, according to McLean's "Independent Journal," had been "at a vast expense repainted, beautified and illuminated in a style to vie with European splendor."



Among the notable incidents of the season were the American début as Joseph Surface of Thomas Wignell (the first Brother Jonathan), and the persistent attacks of the clergy upon the stage. Petitions for the suppression of the drama in New-York, and counter-petitions, largely signed, were sent to the legislature, which did nothing. President Washington, accompanied by the Vice-President, used to frequently visit the John Street Theater, where a special stage box, with appropriate decorations, was set apart for him. "Hail Columbia" was first played there, it having been composed by Fyles, the German leader of the orchestra, in compliment to Washington.

Among the first appearances of note during the last decade of the John Street Theater, that of John Hodgkinson may be considered the most important, through his purchase later of Henry's interest in the old American Company for ten thousand dollars. That of an Irish baronet, Sir Richard Crosby, who was carried away in a balloon, picked up at sea, and taken to New-York, where he made a theatrical début, was, to say the least, curious. Joseph Jefferson, Sr., made his New-York début at the John Street Theater; also Mr. and Mrs. Brett, Mr. Carr, Madame Gardie, Mr. and Mrs. John Johnson, and Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland, who are described as "genteel and useful performers." The yellow fever caused the theater to be closed in the fall of 1795. The following year the house came under the united management of Hallam, Hodgkinson, and Dunlap. The Hallam-Hodgkinson riot took place in 1797, when Hodgkinson was hissed off the stage in consequence of the public not understanding the alcoholic peculiarities of their favorite, Mrs. Lewis Hallam, who greatly interfered with the management,

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through her insisting upon appearing upon the boards regardless of consequences. John Sollee, the proprietor of the Charleston Theater, engaged the John Street Theater for a short season. During Sollee's brief New-York experiment, by which he lost money, President John Adams used to honor the old theater with his presence; but its time had come—the last performance, "The Comet," taking place within its walls on January 13, 1798. Shortly after it was transformed into a carriage-factory, and its site is now covered with warehouses and stores. The John Street Theater had but little rivalry during its thirty years of existence. In 1791 Joseph Coree, who had been cook to Major Carew, opened a theater in his garden on State street, facing the Battery. In July, 1800, Coree, who also owned the City Tavern, commenced a series of dramatic entertainments in his Mount Vernon Gardens, on the Leonard-street corner of Broadway, above the Hospital. At the Summer Theater, as it was called, members of the Park Theater Company played during the time that their own theater was closed. Their first performance here, "Miss in Her Teens," was acted with a good cast; later, Hodgkinson, his wife, and Mrs. Hallam acted in such plays as Dibdin's "Five Hundred a Year," and "Columbus's Daughter," by Mrs. Susanna Rowson, the accomplished author and actress who wrote the story of "Charlotte Temple."

John Scudder[1]

Ricketts, a skilful equestrian, established in 1795 his New Amphitheater, which a year or two later came under the management of Wignell and Reinagle, of Philadelphia, who transformed it into the Greenwich Street Summer Theater, and reopened it, in 1797, with Otway's "Venice Preserved," concluding with a pantomime and a farce. At this theater Mr. and Mrs. Whitlock first appeared in New-York, in Southerne's "Isabella, or the Fatal Marriage." The lady was a sister of Sarah Siddons. William Francis here graduated from dancing to acting. John Bernard, noted later in association with the Beefsteak Club of London, made his American début in the "Road to Ruin," as did also Thomas A. Cooper, whose Hamlet and Macbeth were claimed by New-Yorkers to be equaled only by those of Macready and Kean; and James Fennell, an old-time favorite, who broke down while

[1] John Scudder, the predecessor of Peale and Barnum, was the founder of the first museum of importance in New-York. It was celebrated by Fitz-Greene Halleck and other poets of that period. So far as we are aware, Scudder's portrait has never appeared before. EDITOR.

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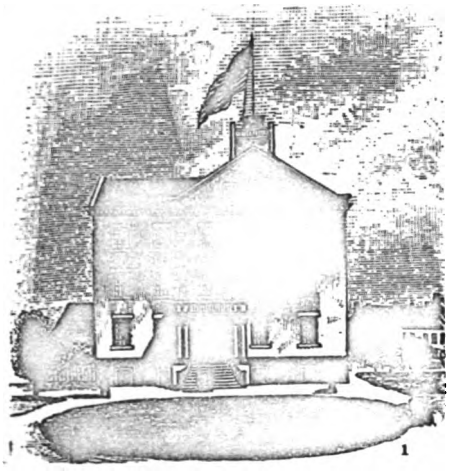
attempting King Lear on his last appearance in 1815. The most famous, however, of all the Greenwich-street débutantes was Mrs. Merry, who made her first New-York appearance as Belvidera, after having successfully played Juliet in Philadelphia. Whether known as Miss Brunton, or Mrs. Merry, or Mrs. Wignell, or Mrs. William Warren, she was always welcome to a New-York audience, being entirely devoid of stage cant, and having "highly expressive features, fine, clear articulation, and sweetness of voice." The Greenwich Street Theater continued to be a favorite resort for years, and never more so than when under the management, in 1843, of Henry P. Grattan, one of the original contributors to London "Punch"; or in 1846, when Edward Eddy succeeded in the title rôle of "Othello" upon his first appearance in the American metropolis.



The Park Theater has a history second to no other American theater; and few abroad, outside of the Comédie Française, can equal it. It stood on Park Row, opposite to the site now occupied by the General Post-office, facing what was then the lower part of City Hall Park. It had a frontage of eighty feet, and was one hundred and sixty-five feet deep, running through to Theater Alley. Designs had been made for it by Isambard Brunel, but its actual architects and builders were the Messrs. Mangin. Its corner-stone was preserved for many years at Windust's restaurant on Ann street, and upon it appear the names of its projectors.[2] It boasted no architectural magnificence, substantiality, with an interior adapted for sight and sound, being paramount to all other considerations. Two thousand persons could be easily seated within its auditorium. It had cost its managers, Hodgkinson and Dunlap, $130,000 when it was opened, in a somewhat unfinished condition, to the public on January 29, 1798, with "As You Like It." The first Park Theater playbill presents the names of Dunlap as treasurer, Hodgkinson as stage manager, and Ciceri and Audin as scene-painters, and, among other suggestions, a request not

1 Scudder's American Museum, originally the first New-York Poorhouse, stood in the Park, facing Broadway (*vide* Vol. II, p. 219). Fits-Greene Halleck describes it as

"Once the almshouse, now a school of wisdom
Sacred to Scudder's shells and Dr. Griscom."

And again, in "Fanny," the New-York poet says:

"Sounds as of far-off bells came on his ears—
He fancied 't was the music of the spheres.
He was mistaken, it was no such thing:
'T was Yankee Doodle played by Scudder's band."

EDITOR.

2 See Volume III, Chapter iv, p. 147, where will be found an engraving of this corner-stone.

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Theatre, Water Street.

MONDAY Evening, March 11, 1799.
And Every Evening this Week.
At Mr. GRANT's, No. 242, Water Street,
Between Beekman and Pecks Slip
Will be presented a GRAND MEDLEY of ENTERTAINMENTS in 5 Parts,

PART I.

Comic Scene between the Old Beggarman & the Termagant Landlady

PART II.

By the much admired

Ombres Chinoises,

Willl be presented the

BROKEN BRIDGE,

Or the Disappointed Traveller. With the Downfall of

The Impertinent Carpenter

PART III.

The ingenious scene of the SPORTSMAN and his faithful DOG,
Which has never failed of giving universal satisfaction.

PART IV.

A Grand Collection of Wax-Work Figures, representing the ancient Court of

Alexander the Great,

Their graceful movements have never failed of giving universal satisfaction. The Performer has spared neither pains nor expence in the richness of their dress.

By the curious Prussian Fantocina will be performed the following Figures:
The Merry Humours of Old JONATHAN and his WIFE,
A Figure in the character of a Country Girl, will dance a JIG, as natural as Life,
A Hornpipe by a small Figure in the character of an American Tar.
The astonishing Lapland Lady will dance a Jig, and change her Face three times imperceptible. Likewise a brilliant Collection of FIGURES
Being the richest of the Kind ever exhibited.
A Curious ITALIAN SCARAMOUCH will dance a Fandango, and put himself into twenty different shapes, being one of the greatest Curosities ever presented to an American audience.

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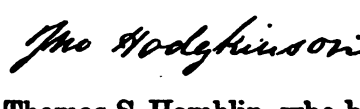
to smoke in the theater. Hodgkinson retired from the management in 1798, leaving William Dunlap, author of "The Arts of Design," and first historian of the American theater, in control; but it bankrupted him. In 1805 John Johnson became the manager of a "Republic of Actors," who attempted unsuccessfully to manage the Park Theater, and who were succeeded by Johnson and Tyler, who made way in 1810 for Dunlap, Price, and Cooper, the last named being the tragedian who married Miss Mary Fairlie, the Sophy Sparkle of "Salmagundi." The old Park Theater was burned down in 1820, to be rebuilt by Price and Simpson, and reopened under their management on September 1, 1821. The veteran Edmund Simpson retired from the management in 1848, and was succeeded by Thomas S. Hamblin, who had it remodeled by Trimble. Reopened on September 14, 1848, it had a further existence of only a little over two months, being finally destroyed by fire on December 16 following, and upon the thirteenth anniversary of the memorable Great Fire of New-York. It was the last relic of the old London Company of Comedians, who opened at the Nassau Street Theater in 1753; for Lewis Hallam the Second played within the walls of the old Park Theater for ten years after the drama had been settled on Park Row, which is now entirely given up to newspapers, stores, and offices.



During the Park Theater's half century of existence, most of the great actors of that period were seen within it. The memories of Cooke, Holman, Kean, Kemble, Cooper, Booth, Wallack, Mathews, and many others linger around its theatrical traditions. The first decade of its history chronicles the début, as Young Norval, of John Howard Payne, the author of "Home, Sweet Home," who was styled "the American Roscius"; and of Mr. Morse, "actor, lawyer, soldier, sailor, and clergyman," and the first American actor who ever played in London; also of Mr. and Mrs. George Stanley, who, although English by birth, first appeared on the American stage.

The Park Theater's second decade opened with the name of George Frederick Cooke, the first great star who visited the United States, and who was claimed to have been the superior of all actors ever seen here, with the sole exception of Edmund Kean. Cooke's first appearance in America was on November 21, 1810, as Richard III. His admirer, Dr. Francis, writes of him in his "Old New-York" as follows: "He had reached his fifty-fourth year, yet possessed all the energies of thirty, profiting largely on the score of health by his sea voyage. The old playgoers, by his expositions, discovered a mine of wealth in Shakespeare, now first opened. His commanding person, his expressive countenance, his elevated front, his eye, his every feature and movement, his intonations, showed the great master who

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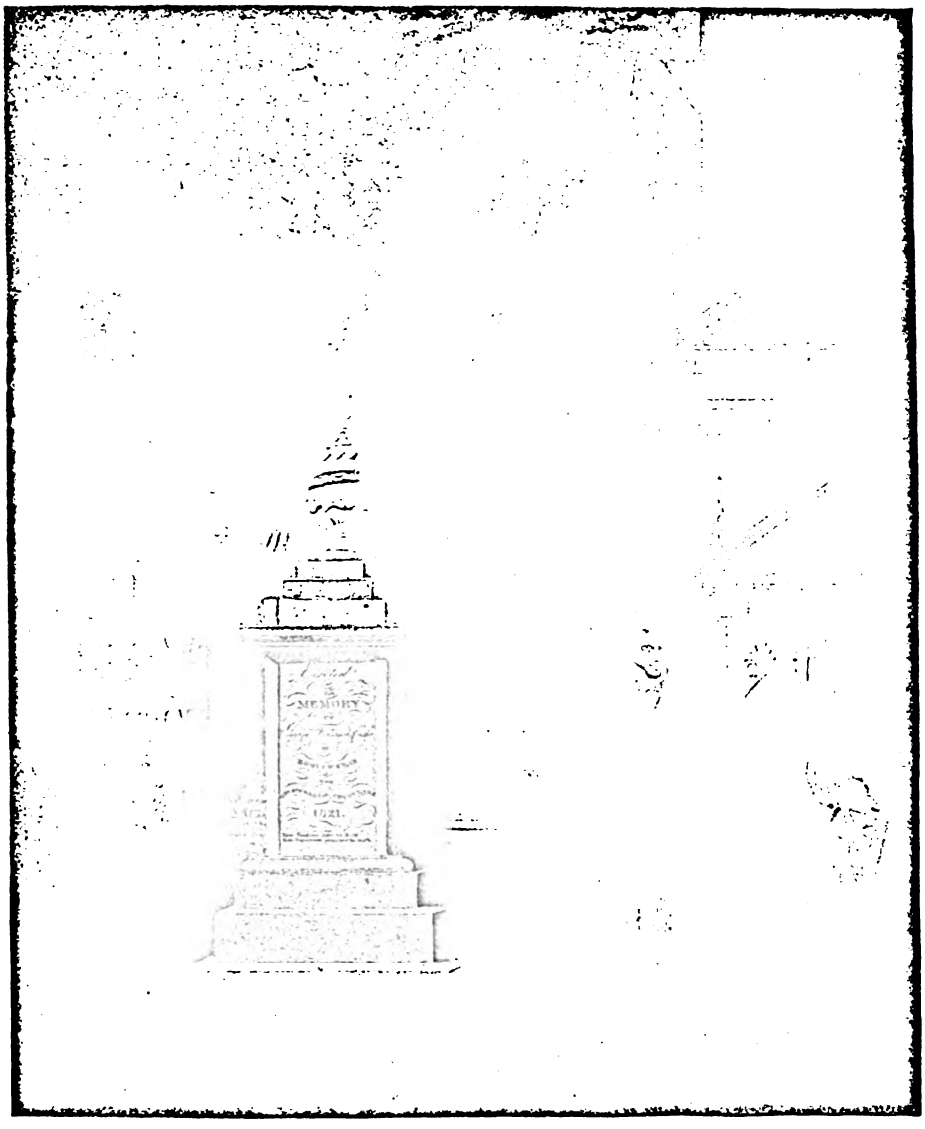
eclipsed all predecessors . . . his matchless comprehension of his great author. The critics pronounced him the first of living actors; he engrossed all minds." His Shylock—"a new reading to the



KEAN AND DR. FRANCIS AT THE TOMB OF COOKE.[1]

Western World—was a most impassioned exhibition." A little over two years after his arrival in America, he died in New-York, and his remains lie buried in St. Paul's churchyard, where Edmund Kean

[1] This view of the monument in St. Paul's churchyard to George Frederick Cooke,—

"Three kingdoms claim his birth,
Both hemispheres pronounce his worth,"—

with portraits of Kean and Dr. Francis, shows the second Park Theater through the trees. The above fac-simile is taken from a rare engraving after the original painting by Smith. EDITOR.

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erected to his memory a handsome monument. Next, J. G. Holman, the second visiting star, made his first appearance in America as Lord Townly in "The Provoked Husband." Francis says that he "made a great hit in 'Orestes,' and his appearance as Romeo was a decided triumph." In the same year the first Mrs. Hackett came before an American audience; as also, in the rôle of Lady Townly, did Agnes Holman, afterward Mrs. Gilfert, who was the first actress in New-York to command a salary of two hundred dollars a night. Thomas Kilner, the most popular of "rich and racy old men," made his American début in 1815, and the next year came John Barnes as Sir Peter Teazle, and his wife as Juliet, both of whom were interred in the old Stuyvesant burying-ground, near St. Mark's Church. Incledon—in the words of Wemyss, "one of the best singers and worst actors belonging to the London stage, yet in singing his celebrated song, 'The Storm,' no effort of Kean's ever surpassed"—made his American début here, to be followed a year later by James William Wallack, Sr., as Macbeth, and who later at the Park Theater made equally great triumphs. Dr. Francis, in a contemporary criticism, styled him "a tragedian of power, and a comic performer of remarkable ability." About the same time Mr. and Mrs. George Bartley made their first appearance on the American stage at the Park, the husband appearing as Falstaff, and the wife in the title rôle of Southerne's "Isabella." Both are referred to by Dr. Francis, who asserts that "Mr. Bartley's Autolycus, his Sir Anthony Absolute, and his Falstaff will long hold possession of the memory; and Mrs. Bartley enacting the 'Ode on the Passions' was a consummation of artistic skill equally rare and entrancing." In 1819 Mr. and Mrs. Maywood made their appearance in New-York at this theater, the former as Richard III., and the latter in the "Heir at Law." Of Mrs. Maywood it is noted that she was the first actress in America who traveled as a star assuming various male characters.

From 1820 to 1829 the Park Theater—which always boasted a good stock company—witnessed some remarkable first appearances and débuts, which give a further idea of the dramatic glories of New-York's principal temple of Thespis. Joseph Cowell, the grandfather of Kate Bateman, heads the list, in 1821, as Leclair. The following year Junius Brutus Booth appeared in New-York as Richard III. Francis records his "extravagant displays of dramatic power," recognizing, nevertheless, that although Booth "lacked judgment, he possessed genius." Another great actor came in 1822; this was Charles Mathews, Sr., who made his first appearance upon the New-York stage in the rôle of Goldfinch. Francis describes, in somewhat humorous language, his nervous condition when, upon his arrival off Governor's Island, he discovered that the yellow fever was raging; but

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the good old physician does not forget to eulogize as an actor this "master of mimic power, who used it with unparalleled effect." William A. Conway, whom Francis designates as "a man of acknowledged powers, high aspirations, and of close study," opened in 1823 as Hamlet, but within five years committed suicide off Charleston on board the ship Niagara. Lydia Kelly, styled the "greatest melodramatic artist," made her American début as Lady Teazle, and remained here for seven years, until she left the stage to marry a French baron. Hamblin, who had made a great success as Hamlet at Drury Lane, London, gave his initial performance in New-York in that rôle in 1825, the same year that Watkins Burroughs made his first American début. The year 1826 saw three Shakespearian actors first appear on the New-York stage, and all at this theater. Macready's first American appearance was in the rôle of Virginius. Dr. Francis says: "Mr. Macready is less of a comedian than a tragedian, but in this latter the materials are ample to demonstrate that, in the maturity of his faculties, his efficiency justly placed him at the head of the English stage." Edwin Forrest was the next of this trio, he first acting in New-York, under the management of Price and Simpson, for the benefit of Mr. Woodhull, in July, 1826. And lastly, James H. Hackett, who made his début as Justice Woodcock in "Love in a Village," and whose Falstaff, in the words of Francis, has truly been "the theme of applause from the lips of even fastidious critics." Two other débuts at the same theater about this time are noteworthy—those of Thomas Placide and John Sefton.

Fanny Kemble

The decade beginning with 1830 is fully as remarkable from a dramatic standpoint as those preceding it. Charles Kean heads the list, having "crossed the Atlantic on the ship Caledonia, making his first appearance on the American stage, Wednesday, September 1, 1830, at the Park Theater, New-York." This was the same year that the veteran Charles R. Thorne made his début as Octavian in "The Mountaineer," and about three months before Master Joseph Burke, "the Irish Roscius," first acted at the Park as Young Norval. Charles Kemble and his daughter, Frances Anne Kemble, made their American appearance at the same theater, the former in the title rôle of "Hamlet," and the latter as Bianca in "Fazio." The preceding generation of New-Yorkers had long tried to prevail upon

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John Philip Kemble and Mrs. Siddons to visit the city, but without avail. The acting of their gifted relatives, therefore, naturally gave the most unfeigned pleasure. What the playgoers thought about their visitors was expressed by Dr. Francis: "His [Charles Kemble's] Charles Surface, his Mirabel, his Edgar, his Pierre, and his Falconbridge were the parts that won him the brightest laurels; and his other achievements were crowned by his Hamlet. His daughter, Fanny, enlisted the warmest plaudits, and soon increased admiration by every new display of histrionic talent. She assumed tragic and comic parts, and demonstrated that she was fairly entitled to hereditary honors."

Mrs. H. J. Conway, under the stage name of Miss Courtney, made her début as Lady Teazle in 1832, as, in the same year, did "Yankee" Hill, who, considered an incompetent supernumerary in Philadelphia, quickly made a marked success in New-York. Tyrone Power, who was lost on the steamship President in 1841, first appeared in America at the same place as Sir Patrick O'Plenipo in 1833, the year of D. P. Bowers's first New-York appearance. The Park saw Charles Mathews, Sr., on its boards once more in 1834, on his second visit to America, when he opened with Monsieur Morbleu. Sol Smith's New-York début was made at this theater in 1835 as Mawworm. In 1836, at the Park, William Dowton as Falstaff, Mr. Denvil as Shylock, Mrs. Keeley as Gertrude in "A Loan of a Lover," Mrs. Shaw-Hamblin in "The Wife," and Mrs. Charles Kean (Ellen Tree) as Rosalind, made their first bows to New-York audiences. The Wood-Conduit riot took place at the Park Theater in 1836, on account of Mrs. Joseph Wood, whilom Lady William Lennox, refusing to appear at Mrs. Conduit's benefit. And in 1838 we find the record of Mrs. H. Cramer's New-York début as Julia; James E. Murdoch's as Benedick; A. J. Neafie's, who had to pay Manager Simpson three hundred dollars to appear as Othello with credit to himself and his future profession; and that of Madame Vestris, the famous wife of the younger Charles Mathews and daughter of the more celebrated engraver Bartolozzi. The last decade of the existence of the Park Theater shows as many famous débuts and first performances as its previous history does, and which are about the best criterion by which to illustrate a theater's importance. Thus, between 1840 and 1848, John B. Buckstone, John Braham, Fanny Elssler, Miss Poole, Mr. and Mrs. John Brougham, Mrs. John Drew, Anna Cora Mowatt, Mrs. D. P. Bowers, and John Gilbert were all first introduced at the old Park Theater, which from 1798 to 1848 had scarcely any competitor, although in that period many theaters came into being.

Shortly after the erection of the Park Theater, the Water Street Theater, situated between Beekman street and Peck Slip, was opened. From 1821 to 1848 there was preserved in the greenroom of the old

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Park Theater a playbill, dated March 11, 1799, of this theater. The manager or owner of this place of amusement was Archibald Grant. The usual entertainment given at the Water Street Theater was a kind of variety performance, or, as it was then called, "a medley," in which farce, singing, dancing, waxworks, and puppets were performed or exhibited in those primitive days.

The Grove Theater, on Bedlow street, now part of Madison street, east of Catherine street, was opened in March, 1804, with a company among whom were Frederick Wheatley, William Bates, and Mrs. White, all connected later with the Park Theater. The Vauxhall Gardens, with their summer theater, were opened in 1806, between Broadway and the Bowery, near the site of the Cooper Union, with Mr. Delacroix as the owner and manager. David Poe, who married Miss Arnold, the actress, and was the father of Edgar Allan Poe, made his first appearance on its stage. The elder Poe was an inferior actor, but his wife, the poet's mother, was both an excellent vocalist and actress. The Vauxhall Gardens are recorded in 1838 as still having a neat saloon for dramatic purposes; and in 1846 Chanfrau, Sarah Chapman, and Malvina Pray (who married William J. Florence in 1853) were acting there. The new Olympic Theater on Broadway, at the corner of White street, originally known as the Broadway Circus, was opened in 1812 by Dwyer and McKenzie, who gave a mixed dramatic and equestrian entertainment. The company included Mrs. Courtney Melmoth. Among the other members of the company was Palmer Fisher, whose wife was afterward known as Mrs. Thayer, a well-known comic actress, whose daughter was Alexina Fisher. In its eighteen months of existence, among other pieces were performed "The Taming of the Shrew," with Mr. and Mrs. William Twaits (Miss E. A. Westray), and Lewis's equestrian drama, "Timour, the Tartar." In the winter of 1813 this theater was called the Commonwealth. It opened with "The Provoked Husband," with J. G. Holman[1] and his daughter, Miss Holman, later Mrs. Gilfert, as Lord and Lady Townly, which was followed by an afterpiece, "The Padlock," in which Mrs. Charles Burke made her first appearance in New-York. The Commonwealth Theater was under the general direction of Messrs. Twaits, Gilfert, and Holland. Its first season closed in January, 1814, shortly after the death of Mrs. Twaits and the secession of some of the members of the company to the Park Theater.

For many years after the war of 1812, Castle Garden was occasionally used as a theater, a suitable stage having been erected for the purposes of the drama, opera, and vaudeville. On September 6, 1852,

[1] "The London critics acknowledged that J. G. Holman's 'Lord Townly' was the perfection of the nobleman of the days of Chesterfield. He was not the actor, but the dignified lord himself." Donaldson, quoted by E. Cobham Brewer in "The Reader's Handbook."

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a "great dramatic festival," in commemoration of the supposed first introduction of the drama into America one hundred years before, took place there. This centenary was celebrated in accordance with the then prevalent belief based upon the "History of the American Theater," by William Dunlap, whose theory of the origin of the stage in this country has been dissipated by the investigations of later authorities. At this festival Lola Montez assisted; "The Merchant of Venice" and Garrick's "Lethe" were acted; Braham sang, and a comic ballet pantomime was presented by the French dancers from Niblo's Garden. The Anthony Street Theater, named after the thoroughfare now known as Worth street, was situated near Broadway, and was opened on April 18, 1814. It was managed by Holland, with Twaits, late of the Commonwealth Theater. The company included Harry and James Placide, both of whom were performers of the old school, and Mrs. Beaumont, from Covent Garden. In 1819 the theater was renamed the Pavilion, and opened in July under new auspices. Upon the destruction of the Park Theater by fire in 1820, its managers leased the Anthony Street Theater, opening June 10 with their company, and remaining there until 1821. In consequence of this fire, Edmund Kean, who was to have appeared at the Park, made his American début in November, 1820, in Anthony Street, as Richard III. Upon his first visit to New-York, it was impossible for this great tragedian, whom Byron called "the sun's bright child," to have been more admired and honored. Old theater-goers realized with Coleridge that "to see Kean act is reading Shakespeare by lightning." Dr. Francis, who became his intimate friend,—and remained so, even under the after-light of the insults that Kean received as the consequence of his dissipated conduct,—wrote: "He individualized every character he assumed—we saw not Mr. Kean. Wherever he was, he was all eye, all ear. Everything around him, or wherever he moved, fell under his cognizance." Francis insisted that Kean's first visit to this country, so far as New-York was concerned, was a complete triumph, and in particularizing his Lear said: "As an inspiration beyond mortals it was crowned with universal praises." About this time a notable event happened at this theater, which was the American début of Mrs. Alsop, the daughter of Mrs. Jordan.

The City Theater on Warren street was opened in 1822 by a company of amateurs with the "Belle's Stratagem." Among the players was William Dinneford, who during his career was an actor, author, manager, auctioneer, broker, and merchant; also in the company was Mrs. Bannister,[1] who was always popular on the stage, whether known by her maiden name or by that of one of her four husbands, under

[1] Bannister and Barrymore were great favorites with Charles Lamb, who praises them highly in his most admirable essay "On Some of the Old Actors." EDITOR.

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which names she alternately appeared. The yellow fever closed this theater for some months during the first year of its existence, and when it was reopened there was seen on its boards George F. Smith, known as "The Prodigy," who afterward became a dentist; but who, at the City Theater, played Romeo to his sister's Juliet. The new Broadway Circus was a large wooden building situated on Broadway, between Howard and Grand streets, and was taken possession of in September, 1822, by the Park Theater management. This was necessary in consequence of the yellow fever raging in the lower part of the city, from which the inhabitants had fled. The building, which was afterward known as Tattersall's Stables, was used also for dramatico-equestrian performances. The Mount Pitt Circus at Grand street and East Broadway, managed by General Charles W. Sandford, was put to similar uses.

The Chatham Garden Theater, in Chatham street between Duane and Pearl streets, extended through to Augustin street, now City Hall Place. The proprietor was Henri Barrière, a gentleman of taste and experience, who erected a saloon in his gardens for light entertainments. Here, in 1823, the operetta of "Rosina" was presented, and Barrière, having found this class of entertainments successful, determined on the erection of a permanent theater, which, being completed and fitted up with great neatness, taste, and convenience, was opened to the public on the evening of May 17, 1824, with Inchbald's "Wives as They Were and Maids as They Are." A repertoire covering the best plays of the English dramatists was presented by an excellent stock company, including Henry Wallack, George Barrett, Kilner, Spiller, Burke, and Jefferson, and Mesdames Entwistle, Henry, and Durange. William R. Blake made his New-York début in 1824 at this theater; Mrs. W. H. Smith, in 1827; Mrs. Burroughs, in 1828; and Mrs. Eliza Kinlock, mother of Mrs. John Drew, the same year. After 1825 Henry Wallack and Freeman became the managers, and upon the death of Barrière, in 1826, the former was sole manager, but becoming financially embarrassed, fashion soon seemed to leave Chatham Garden Theater. Ryder and Stevenson were its managers in 1828, and two years later it was renamed Blanchard's Amphitheater. "Yankee" Hill was a great favorite, and it was here that Mrs. Barney Williams made her début as a dancer, and Danford Marble, who paid twenty dollars to be transformed from an amateur into a professional star. Thorne and Phillips were in 1839 the managers of this theater, which was soon after converted into a Presbyterian chapel, and later into a hotel. The Lafayette Theater and Amphitheater, built by General Sandford[1] on Laurens street, near Canal street, existed from 1825 till 1829,

[1] Since the above was penned an editorial writer in the New-York "Sun" furnishes the following additional information: "The Lafayette Theater in Laurens street (now South Fifth Avenue), near Canal street, upon the present site of St. Alphonsus's Catholic Church, was erected by General

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when it was destroyed by fire and never rebuilt. It was first a circus, with equestrian dramas as well as farces and ballets, but its owner soon abolished the former, and in 1826 it was opened as a theater for the regular drama. It was here that the audience rose and cheered Enoch Crosby, Cooper's Harvey Birch, who was seated in a stage box, upon the production of a dramatization of "The Spy." The Lafayette was entirely rebuilt in 1827 and changed into a large theater. With its front of Eastern white granite, its boxes with real bronze columns and gilded Ionic capitals, its wondrous glass chandelier and immense stage, it was one of the attractions of the town.

The Old Bowery Theater was built in the year 1826. It has had an extraordinarily long life for an American theater, and still stands, a relic of the past, although fire has visited it several times. The site of the Bowery Theater, now known as the Thalia, was an old tavern and cattle-market, called the Bull's Head, belonging to Henry Astor. It was at first named the New-York Theater. It was an elegant structure for those days; and its stage, the first lighted by gas, and its auditorium, which would seat three thousand people, were both larger than any others in the United States. Its interior decorations were unrivaled, and its exterior, of a white marble effect, was considered a wonder, with its spacious portico and lofty columns. Upon the opening night, October 23, 1826, Holcroft's "Road to Ruin" and the farce "Raising the Wind" were presented under the management of Charles Gilfert. The stock company included Mr. and Mrs. Duff, Mr. and Mrs. Young, Mr. and Mrs. George Barrett, and Edwin Forrest. The year 1827 was noticeable in its annals by the appearance of Ma-

Thos. S. Hamblin

Sandford, and opened in 1825. General Sandford was a commander of city militia, and although a lawyer by profession was a worshiper of good horsemanship. While projector and proprietor of the Mount Pitt Circus, on the east side of town, near the Grand street ferry, General Sandford was induced by his wife (who had been an actress of considerable reputation) to build and manage a theater upon the west side of town, for fashionable patronage. He consented, but as he could not subdue his passion for equestrianism, the Lafayette was constructed so as to serve a dual purpose: standard plays enacted by a good company, and 'horse shows' like 'Mazeppa,' 'El Hyder,' 'The Cataract of the Ganges,' and other melodramas wherein horses were featured, in which many theater-goers of half a century ago delighted. Mrs. Sandford resolved upon the introduction of an equally novel feature, and under her direction the ballet made its appearance as an organized corps upon the American boards." General Sandford died in this city at fourscore.

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dame Hutin, whose *pas seul* in modern ballet costume forced the majority of the audience blushingly to retire, and the famous French dancer was obliged for a time to appear in Turkish trousers. Madame Celeste also made her first American appearance at the New-York Theater; so did the dramatist Cornelius Logan, the father of three famous actresses, Eliza, Olive, and Celia Logan. When Hackett and Thomas F. Hamblin assumed the management of the house, they named it the Bowery Theater, as it has ever since been known, although once, owing to a patriotic impulse, it was christened the American Theater. The elder Chapman made his début here as King Henry in "Richard III.," but did not then cause the hilarity that he did later when he appeared as the ghost of Hamlet's father, in tin armor and broad-rimmed spectacles.

The Bowery was burned down in 1828, but was rebuilt within ninety days, Forrest delivering the opening address. Upon the death of Gilfert, in 1829, it passed into the hands of the Park Theater management. Hamblin again became manager in 1830, and remained so until it was a second time burned down, in 1836, at a loss to him of sixty thousand dollars, he recently having become its sole owner by purchase. During the few years before this fire, we note the appearance of the Vestris dancers; George Holland's début in seven different characters on the same evening; the last appearance of Mrs. Charles Young, whose husband was shot by Gilfert in a duel; and Archer's American début. Mrs. J. W. Wallack, Jr. (Mrs. Sefton), made her first New-York appearance here; also Josie Clifton, who was the first native American actress to play in London; and Spencer likewise, who killed Frombley in a duel, and was not long after assassinated in Texas. Noteworthy, also, in 1834, was the début of Miss Priscilla Cooper, from the circumstance of her marrying Robert, son of President Tyler, and thereby becoming the mistress of the White House. In 1836 Charlotte Cushman made her first New-York appearance here as Lady Macbeth.

After its destruction in 1836, the Bowery was rebuilt in 1837, to be again destroyed by fire, and once more reconstructed in 1839. Since then it has been burned down in 1845 and in 1866. Many famous actors and actresses, in addition to those named, have performed within its walls during the past sixty years. Here John Gilbert first appeared in New-York as Sir Edward Mortimer; Mrs. Melinda Jones, wife of "Count Joannes," as Bianca; John Drew as Doctor O'Toole; and the original Mrs. Potter as Juliet. Whether in later years, 1850–1860, when John Brougham was the manager and George L. Fox and John W. Lingard lessees; when Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Wallack, Jr., Edward Eddy, Thomas S. Hamblin, or even Harry J. Seymour were playing there,—it was still the people's theater, and therefore melodrama

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and tragedy were always yearned for. It was full of surprises, as, for instance, when John Oxenford, of the London "Times," saw John B. Studley playing "The Bells," and acknowledged that at the Old Bowery he had seen "an actor of leading business, who is not only one of the best performers in New-York, but who could not be easily surpassed in London." Again, when Adah Isaacs Menken electrified her former patrons with the news of her triumphs in London and Paris, Dickens, Swinburne, and Dumas enrolling themselves among her admirers. But memories only of the Old Bowery now remain, since it was handed over in September, 1879, to German playgoers, and was rechristened the Thalia, and where now Jewish pieces in a Hebrew-German patois are heard within its ancient walls.

Charlotte Cushman.[1]

Niblo's Garden and Theater was built on Broadway, near Prince street, within two years of the erection of the first Bowery Theater, and was originally called the Sans Souci. It was an attractive and popular little theater, opened in 1828, in the Summer Garden of William Niblo, by Charles Gilfert, when the Bowery Theater was burned down. A year later it became a concert-saloon, Niblo soon after reopening it for dramatic purposes. The Ravels were performing there in 1837, and William E. Burton in 1839. The same year the elder Wallack leased Niblo's when burned out at the National Theater, and Charles Kean, Edwin Forrest, and Miss Vandenhoff appeared there. From 1840 to 1842 the theater was under the management of W. Chippendale, the leading performers being Burton, Placide, and Mrs. Fitzwilliam. E. L. Davenport appeared at Niblo's in 1843, and soon after Mitchell with a burlesque company. In 1844 John Brougham was playing there, and in 1845 John Nickinson, Henry Placide, and Mrs. Mowatt. Shortly after George Holland's engagement, and Hackett's impersonations of Falstaff, in 1848, the theater was burned down. It was rebuilt, and reopened in July, 1849, to be again rebuilt in 1850, enlarged in 1854, and burned down once more in 1872, at a loss of $200,000. Many well-known members of the theatrical profession have been managers of this house, and have kept up its great reputation. On its stage have appeared Charlotte Cushman, Dion Bouci-

[1] This rare portrait of Charlotte Cushman is from the original tinted lithograph by R. J. Lane, A. R. A., after a drawing by Miss Teresa Kenney.

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cault, the Wallacks, Mr. and Mrs. Barney Williams, Mrs. John Wood, Maggie Mitchell, Lydia Thompson, Margaret Mather, and others of equal popularity. Here William E. Burton made his last appearance in Toodles and his other humorous rôles; and Charles Fechter and Daniel E. Bandmann made their American débuts in English. But more than all, it was where the great Rachel appeared as Thisbe and Phèdre. Many plays were first produced successfully at Niblo's, not least among which were the "Black Crook," and "Leah," the foundation of Kate Bateman's reputation, brought out in 1863. The name of Niblo's still survives, but it has no longer a stock company, being devoted to the starring combination system, with popular prices.

The Richmond Hill Theater, also known as the Greenwich Theater, comes next to Niblo's in chronological succession, having been opened on November 14, 1831, with the "Road to Ruin," which was preceded by a beautiful address from the pen of Halleck, commencing, "Where dwells the Drama's spirit?" Its site on Varick and Charlton streets has many historical associations, for the Richmond Hill mansion, built in 1770 by Paymaster Abraham Mortier, once stood there. It was Washington's headquarters at the beginning of the Revolution, and Sir Guy Carleton's residence during the British occupation. Later it was sold by Aaron Burr to John Jacob Astor, and was by him converted into the Richmond Hill Theater. Its name was changed several times. In 1836 it was Miss Nelson's Theater, in 1837 Mrs. Hamblin's, in 1840 the Tivoli Gardens, in 1846 the Greenwich Theater, and in 1847 the New-York Opera House. It was taken down in 1849.

Edwin Forrest[1]

The National Theater was opened on January 29, 1836, with the "Merchant of Venice," Junius Brutus Booth, Sr., appearing as Shylock. In the same year a "grand complimentary and farewell benefit," realizing $3000, was given in this playhouse to Hamblin, whose theater had been destroyed by fire. "Henry IV." was played, with Hackett as Falstaff, Hamblin as Hotspur, the younger J. W. Wallack as Douglas, and Barrett, Burke, Placide, and other noted actors in the cast.

[1] Excellent portraits of James H. Hackett, Matilda Heron, Laura Keene, and Anna Cora Mowatt will be found in Chapters x and xi of Volume III. Editor.

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James W. Wallack, Sr., became owner of the theater in 1837, and his son, James W. Wallack, Jr., in 1839 made his New-York début there as Fag in "The Rivals." The original Robert Macaire, James S. Browne, also first appeared in America at the National, as Bob Acres. William E. Burton and Mr. and Mrs. John Vandenhoff made their first appearance in the metropolis at this house, and Charles Kean played Hamlet here in 1839, just before it was destroyed by fire. In 1840 it was rebuilt and leased to Alexander Wilson, and later to Burton; but before six weeks were over, during which he produced "The Naiad Queen," with Miss Josephine Shaw, afterward Mrs. John Hoey, in the cast, the National was once more burned down.

The Franklin Theater, on Chatham street, between James and Oliver streets, was erected in 1835, and was opened with Morton's "School of Reform," among the cast being John Sefton and Miss Alexina Fisher. Barney Williams and William Sefton made their début here. In 1840 George H. Hill opened it as Hill's Theater, but it was not a success, and the house was soon after named the Little Drury. The Olympic Theater on Broadway, near Grand street, was built in 1837, and was opened on September 13. It was especially intended for light comedies, with farces, sparkling burlettas, and humorous burlesques. The auditorium and stage were small and notable for the drawing-room effect obtained. Ireland remarks: "The Olympic Theater, diminutive as it was, displayed a more tasteful and beautiful interior than any other on the Atlantic seaboard." George W. Mitchell leased it in 1839, and it was henceforward generally known as Mitchell's Olympic, in contradistinction to others of that name afterward built. Associated with Mitchell were Mrs. Maeder, previously known as Albina Mandeville, and Blake and Barrett. Mitchell retired from the Olympic in 1850, and three years later George Holland became acting manager. The first Broadway Theater was east of Broadway, near Walker street, and had been previously designated as Euterpean Hall and Apollo Saloon. Erected in 1837, it had a very short life under the management of James Anderson. It was reopened in 1838 by Edwin Forrest and Fanny Wallack. J. W. Wallack, Jr., appeared there, making a great success of Claude Melnotte in the "Lady of Lyons," as did General Tom Thumb as General Bombastes. The Chatham Square Theater, erected in 1839, had quite an eventful history, whether under its original name or that of the National Theater, as it was called when Wallack's old National was burned down in 1839. Barrett was its star in 1844, and the year following Anna Cruise made her début. Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Wallack, Jr., and Junius Brutus Booth, Sr., were playing there in 1845. Chanfrau renamed it the New National Theater in 1848, opening with Bulwer's "Richelieu," John R. Scott in the title rôle. Joseph Jefferson first made his bow

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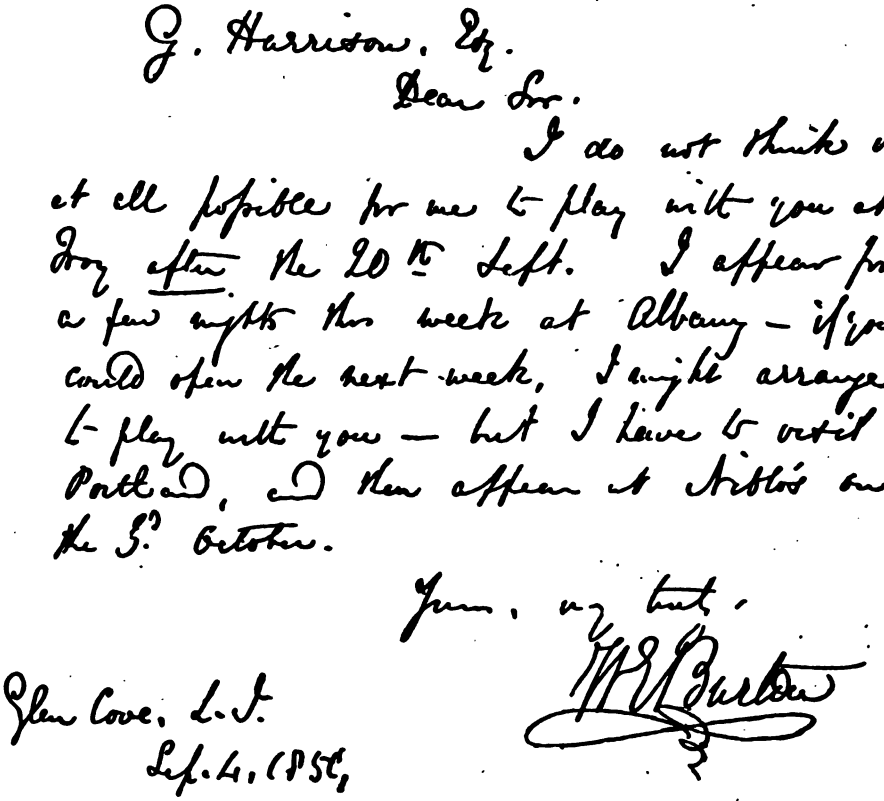
to the public in 1849, at this theater, and Edwin Booth his first New-York appearance as Wilford in "The Iron Chest." Shortly after the New National was used as a circus, and it was in consequence of Jenny Lind, who disliked the odor of horses, objecting to Mr. Barnum "compelling her to sing in a stable," that she dissolved her contract with the great showman; but it was at the National, nevertheless, that she sang upon her third visit to New-York, in June, 1851. During the years 1851–53 it was known as Purdy's National Theater, and was given up to melodramas and tragedies,


J. Harrison, Esq.
Dear Sir.
I do not think it at all possible for me to play with you at any after the 20th Inst. I appear for a few nights this week at Albany – if you could open the next week, I might arrange to play with you – but I leave to attend Portland, and then appear at Niblo's on the 3d October.
Yours, very truly.
W. E. Burton
Glen Cove, L.I.
Sept. 4, 1854.

with after-performances. In 1853 Mr. and Mrs. Barney Williams and Mr. and Mrs. William J. Florence were seen there.

In Palmo's Opera House, which afterward became Burton's Theater, William Dinneford and George Vandenhoff, in 1845, gave the Greek tragedy of "Antigone," and, in the words of Vandenhoff, "repeated this classic entombment twelve successive nights." Samuel Lover, the Irish novelist, in 1846 presented here his entertainment consisting of recitations from his own writings. Palmo's was opened as Burton's Theater[1] on July 10, 1848, with "Maidens Beware!" Burton

[1] See Chapter v, page 175, for illustration.

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was successful from the outset, and ere long his new venture was the most popular resort in town, Lester Wallack, Hackett, Johnson, E. L. Davenport, Mrs. Warner, and many others of note coming before the public, always under the pleasant auspices peculiar to this theater. In 1856 it was leased by Edward Eddy, who was equally successful. The second Broadway Theater, situated between Pearl and Anthony (now Worth) streets, was built by Colonel Alvah Mann, and opened in September, 1847, with "The School for Scandal," Lester Wallack making his début there as Charles Surface, under the name of John Wallack Lester. George Barrett was the stage-manager of this large and elegant edifice, which was primarily intended as a rival to the Park Theater. The Mont-Plaisir troupe made its appearance at the Broadway in 1848, in which year James R. Anderson played Othello. In 1850 Eliza Logan made her New-York début at the same theater as Pauline, and Madame Ponisi also, as Lady Teazle. The year following, Gustavus Vaughan Brooke made his first appearance in this country at the same house; also Julia Bennett, Madame Celeste, and Lola Montez. Anderson, "The Wizard of the North," performed at the Broadway in 1851; and Edwin Forrest appeared as Damon, the engagement being continued for sixty-one nights, in the spring of 1852.

The Astor Place Opera House, which had not experienced an unqualified success as a home of song, was equally unfortunate with the drama, although a Shakespearian revival was attempted with encouraging results. A company was brought together which produced, among other plays, "The Merry Wives of Windsor," with Hackett, Vandenhoff, Chippendale, Sefton, Miss Telbin, and Mrs. Maeder in the cast. The Astor Place Opera House will ever remain most memorable in dramatic and civic annals as the scene, on May 10, 1849, of the Forrest-Macready riot, which occurred after the English actor's appearance as Macbeth.[1] In 1854 the building was sold to the Mercantile Library Association, who reconstructed and renamed it Clinton Hall. Barnum's Museum, at the corner of Broadway and Ann street, where the "New-York Herald" building now stands, had the small theater attached to it opened on June 17, 1850, with the play of "The Drunkard." There appeared here Alexina Fisher; Kate and Ellen Bateman, then known as the Bateman Children; Emily Mestayer; and Edward Askew Sothern, then an indifferent actor with the stage name of "Douglas Stewart." The last engagement played there before it was burned down was that of John B. Studley, in the legitimate drama. Barnum's American Museum, which was opened shortly afterward, was again destroyed by fire, on a bitterly cold night, March 3, 1868, together with its three hundred thousand curiosities. The immense

[1] A full account of the Astor Place riot will be found in Vol. III, Chap. xi, pp. 430–435, and of the Opera House in Chap. V, p. 177, of Vol. IV. EDITOR.

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volumes of water poured upon the burning beams and rafters of the building formed rapidly into icicles of fantastic shape and massive crystals, which, glistening with a thousand sparkling reflections from the moon, presented a scene which no artist could hope to rival.

Brougham's Lyceum, on Broadway, near Broome street, afterward Wallack's Lyceum, and in 1867 called for a short time the Broadway Theater, after the two former theaters of that name, was opened on October 15, 1850, with "Esmeralda," Julia Gould appearing as Phœbus. Wallack's Lyceum, the old Wallack's Theater, came into existence on September 8, 1852, and Ireland, commenting on the change of name from Brougham's Lyceum, remarks that the new departure "soon succeeded not only in rivalling, but in a measure superseding Burton's Theater in public esteem. The hand of a master was visible in every production, and the taste, elegance, and propriety displayed about the whole establishment gave it a position of respectability never hitherto enjoyed in New-York, except at the Old Park Theatre." Morton's "Way to Get Married" and "The Boarding School" were presented at the initial performance, under the management of James W. Wallack as lessee and owner. The company included Lester Wallack, W. Chippendale, Mr. and Mrs. Blake, Mr. and Mrs. Brougham, and Miss Julia Gould. Later, Laura Keene made her American début here. William Stuart leased Wallack's in 1856, in which year Lester Wallack and E. A. Sothern played there together. The Wallacks, in 1861, abandoned this theater, and in 1867 a new one called the Broadway Theater was erected on its site.

Lester Wallack

The Winter Garden next demands attention as one of the most important theaters, historically speaking, in New-York. It was erected on the site of Tripler Hall, on Broadway, opposite Bond street, and adjoined the La Farge House. In 1854, while the Jullien concerts were being held in Tripler Hall, then known as Metropolitan Hall, this beautiful edifice and the La Farge House adjacent were burned to the ground. Where these buildings stood was erected the New-York Theater and Metropolitan Opera House, which was opened on September 18, 1854. Rachel, on September 3, 1855, made her first appearance in America, at this theater, as Camille in "Les Horaces,"

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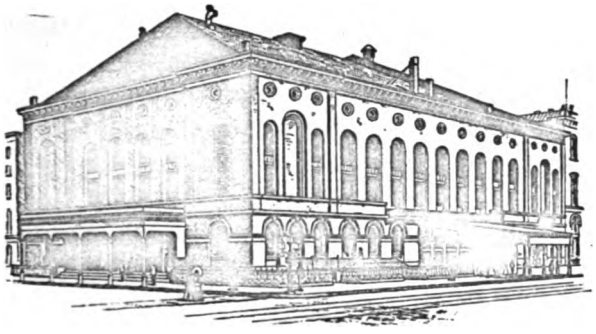
and followed it with other famous rôles, such as Adrienne Lecouvreur, Hermione, and Marie Stuart; and it was also here that she contracted the pulmonary complaint from which she died at Cannes two years and a half later. Laura Keene, at the termination of Rachel's engagement, leased the theater, had it remodeled, and reopened it as Laura Keene's Varieties. Burton soon obtained possession of the building, and called it Burton's New Theater, Edwin Booth and other celebrities performing there. The Winter Garden, or Conservatory of the Arts, was the next name by which the Metropolitan was christened, and it was opened on September 14, 1859, with Boucicault's version of "The Cricket on the Hearth," entitled "Dot." Boucicault also produced the "Octoroon," with Agnes Robertson as Zoe. To enumerate the list of famous actors and the plays in which they performed at the Winter Garden, would take pages. Such pieces as "The Naiad Queen" and "Midsummer Night's Dream" were put upon the stage at great expense. Kate Bateman delineated Julia and Evangeline, and Charlotte Cushman, supported by Studley, pleased playgoers with her renditions of Lady Macbeth, Meg Merrilies, and other impersonations. Charles Mathews and Barry Sullivan were seen here, and also Burton, Brougham, Mark Smith, and Charles Fisher. Here, too, on an eventful night in 1864, the three Booth brothers, Edwin, John Wilkes, and Junius Brutus, were seen together in "Julius Cæsar." The Booth revivals were held here in 1867, and were suddenly stopped by the total destruction by fire, on March 23, of the Winter Garden. The Academy of Music, on Fourteenth street and Irving Place, was built in 1854, and, although primarily dedicated to opera, its audiences have listened to other voices than those raised in song. Rachel once appeared here, and Salvini and his rival Rossi equally delighted their hearers. In 1856 Mr. and Mrs. John Wood made their débuts, and in 1858, at the Dramatic Fund benefit, Edwin Booth, Mark Smith, Fanny Herring, and Mary Gannon played together in the historic pageant of "Shakespeare's Dream," arranged by John Brougham. It was destroyed by fire on May 22, 1866, and the present edifice, erected on the same site, was opened in February, 1868. It continued to be the home of grand opera until 1887, when the new Metropolitan Opera House was built, and when it



THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC.

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was given up to theatrical combinations and other purposes. Latterly it has been devoted more to spectacular and melodramatic productions, the "Old Homestead" and the "Black Crook" having nightly filled the building, which will hold twenty-seven hundred people, and which Rachel considered too large for her voice. Laura Keene's New Theater was built for her, on Broadway, near Houston street, two years after the Academy of Music was erected, and soon after Burton had obtained control of the Varieties, later called the Winter Garden. At its opening in 1846, "As You Like It" was performed, Rosalind being played by Laura Keene, who controlled the house until the season of 1863–4, whether under her own name or as the New Olympic, as it was later known. E. A. Sothern first appeared here under his real name, at Jefferson's benefit, and made the great success of his life as Lord Dundreary in "Our American Cousin," with John T. Raymond supporting him as Asa Trenchard. Mrs. John Wood managed the New Olympic for a time, and produced the spectacle of "Monte Cristo."

Wallack's Theater, at Broadway and Thirteenth street, was opened as the second Wallack's, in 1861, by James W. and Lester Wallack, for whom it was built when the old Wallack's, on Broadway, near Broome, was abandoned by them. The repertoire of the best old and modern English comedy, which had made the old house so famous, was continued in the new building until 1881, when the third Wallack's Theater, on Broadway and Thirtieth street, was erected. Lester Wallack was the star of his own theater, being supported by a stock company which comprised, from time to time, John Gilbert, John Brougham, George Holland, Henry J. Montague, Harry Becket, Owen Marlowe, Mark Smith, Charles Fisher, Dion Boucicault, Charles Mathews, Mrs. Vernon, Madeline Henriques, Mary Gannon, Effie Germon, John Sefton, Annie Deland, Laura Phillips, Rose Lisle, Fanny Morant, Madame Ponisi, Ada Dyas, and Rose Coghlan. Boucicault's "Shaughraun" and the Robertson comedies were always particularly strong in their casts and settings. Adolph Neuendorff leased Wallack's from 1881 to the end of 1883, calling it the Germania, and here the best plays of the Fatherland were presented by Ludwig Barnay and Friedrich Haase. The house was renamed the Star Theater when the Germans left it in January, 1883, and has since been managed on the combination plan, but with a high order of performers, notably Henry Irving and Ellen Terry, Modjeska, Mary Anderson, William H. Crane, E. S. Willard, Edwin Booth, and Lawrence Barrett. Laura Edwin's Theater, on Broadway, facing Washington Place, was erected during the Civil War. To make way for it the Church of the Messiah had to be taken down. After running unsuccessfully for a time, it was renamed the New-York Theater, and in 1866 Mr. Daly presented there his adaptation of "Griffith Gaunt," in which Rose

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Eytinge appeared, as she did the following year in the original local drama of "Under the Gaslight." The Worrell Sisters leased the New-York Theater for a time, and were well supported. It came later into the hands of Harrigan and Hart, who called it the Theatre Comique, after their old house opposite the St. Nicholas Hotel, where, as early as 1876–7, they had been successful with their Irish-American comedy creations. They opened the second Theatre Comique on August 29, 1881, and remained there until it was destroyed by fire, producing plays like "The Mulligan Guards' Ball" and "Squatter Sovereignty." The desolate building called "Old London Street" now gloomily occupies the ground upon which once stood the Church of the Messiah.

The Fifth Avenue Opera House, on West Twenty-fourth street, adjoining the Fifth Avenue Hotel, was, on November 30, 1865, thrown open to the public, after being changed from an up-town night "gold room." Negro-minstrel troupes first leased the house, and were followed by opera burlesque. John Brougham then obtained the lease, and prevailed upon James Fisk, Jr., to build on the site a small but elegant theater, the second Brougham's Lyceum, but it proved a failure. Fisk next had an unsuccessful season of opera bouffe, after having again called the theater by its original name. As the Fifth Avenue Theater four years of prosperity followed, when Augustin Daly became its lessee and manager. Here were played "Frou Frou" and "Fernande," introducing Agnes Ethel; "Man and Wife," "Saratoga," "Divorce," and "Article 47," in which Clara Morris, Fanny Davenport, Kate Claxton, Linda Dietz, Sarah Jewett, Mrs. G. H. Gilbert, James Lewis, George Clarke, George Holland, and Louis James played in the leading parts. Goldsmith's "Good-Natured Man" and the "Merry Wives of Windsor" were admirably revived. There also appeared at this theater, under Mr. Daly's management, Mrs. Scott-Siddons, Charles Mathews, E. L. Davenport, and Mrs. Jennings. The theater was burned on January 1, 1873, and in the same month its energetic manager opened the Broadway, formerly the New-York Theater, with "Alixe." The present Madison Square Theater was opened on February 4, 1880, with "Hazel Kirke," by James Steele Mackaye, who introduced the celebrated double stage. Daniel Frohman next managed the theater, producing, amongst other plays, "Esmeralda," "The Professor," and "May Blossom." Albert M. Palmer, who had made a reputation in his management of the Union Square Theater, took the Madison Square Theater in 1884, and with his stock company presented "Jim the Penman," "The Private Secretary," and other productions.

The Théâtre Français, on Fourteenth street, near Sixth Avenue, was erected as the original home of opera bouffe in New-York, and was opened May 26, 1866. Adelaide Ristori, on September 20, 1866, made

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her American début at this theater, giving fifty-five performances, and the year following filled a second engagement. In 1872 Charles Fechter obtained possession of the building, renamed it the Lyceum Theater, and spent over sixty thousand dollars in improvements. It now has an imposing Greek portico, the pillars of which stretch to the curb-line. Next it became Haverly's Theater, and in March, 1879, it was named the Fourteenth Street Theater. The late Bartley Campbell was also its lessee under this name. It is now a combination theater, star companies playing there melodrama and burlesque. Within two years of the opening of the Théâtre Français, Pike's Opera House was constructed on the northwest corner of Eighth Avenue and Twenty-third street. It was later called the Grand Opera House, and its massive white-marble front, its fine entrance, lobby, grand staircase, and spacious auditorium, made it a worthy rival of the Academy of Music. Unfortunately its situation was antagonistic to its success, and it was not long until its unlucky projector, Samuel Pike, had to sell it, James Fisk, Jr., and Jay Gould becoming the purchasers, and using the offices in part of the building as the headquarters of the Erie Railway. Fisk also tried to transform it into the chief home of opera bouffe, by which he lost heavily, as well as on "The Tempest" and Sardou's "Patrie." Daly leased the Grand Opera House from 1872 until 1874, and produced "Le Roi Carotte," "Around the Clock," "Uncle Sam," and "Monte Cristo," with Charles Fechter, George L. Fox, and Mrs. John Wood. Then it passed through the hands of Max Maretzek; of Poole and Donnelly, who introduced many contemporary stars at popular prices; of Henry E. Abbey, who perpetuated that system and redecorated the house in 1882; and finally of T. Henry French, its last lessee.

Edwin Booth, after appearing in various theaters, obtained, in 1869, the fine edifice called Booth's Theater, which was especially built for him, on the corner of Sixth Avenue and Twenty-third street. He opened with "Romeo and Juliet," aided by Lawrence Barrett, in 1869, and presented the most classic plays of the English drama in a manner that insensibly recalled to veteran theater-goers the glories of the old Park. Here Sara Bernhardt played, in 1880, "Adrienne Lecouvreur," "Hernani," and other dramas, to which she gave new interpretations. Mary Anderson, John B. Studley in "The Bells," Joseph Jefferson as "Rip Van Winkle," and others equally well known assisted in extending the reputation, during its too short existence, of Booth's Theater, which now is devoted to offices and stores. The Union Square Theater, on East Fourteenth street, next to the Morton House, was built, and opened on September 11, 1871, by Sheridan Shook, who, a year later, associated with himself Albert M. Palmer; an excellent stock company was organized, and a continuous series of plays produced, commencing with Sardou's "Agnes," which completely changed the

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complexion of the American theater, when taken into consideration with what Augustin Daly and Lester Wallack were doing at this time. Among the plays which enjoyed long runs were "Led Astray," "The Two Orphans," "The Danicheffs," "A Celebrated Case," and "Rose Michel." American plays of a high character were also presented, such as "The Geneva Cross," "The Banker's Daughter," and "My Partner." Many actors and actresses distinctly identified with Mr. Palmer's management obtained their reputation through association with this theater, or gained new laurels. Among these should be specified Charles Thorne, Agnes Ethel, Sara Jewett, Stuart Robson, Clara Morris, McKee Rankin, Kate Claxton, Maude Granger, Richard Mansfield, Katherine Rogers, Charles Coghlan, E. M. Holland, J. H. Stoddart, Maurice Barrymore, and Frederick Robinson. Mark Twain's "Gilded Age," with John T. Raymond as Colonel Sellers, was brought out here; also Bret Harte's "Two Men of Sandy Bar." Margaret Mather here made her first New-York appearance, and Leona Moss her début. Mr. Palmer gave up the Union Square Theater in 1883, and within two years the famous stock company was a thing of the past. James M. Hill, in 1885, became the lessee, and three years later the theater was destroyed by fire. It was rebuilt and reopened in March, 1889, and since then has been devoted to combinations mostly of a mediocre character.

Edwin Booth [1]

Where Apollo Hall stood, on West Twenty-eighth street, near Broadway, was erected in 1872 the St. James Theater, in which James Steele Mackaye developed the Delsartian method and produced "Monaldi" and "Marriage" in accordance with those principles. The property belonged to the Gilsey estate, the trustees of which built for Augustin Daly, who had been driven by fire out of the Fifth Avenue Theater, a theater named after his old one. The new Fifth Avenue was managed by him from December, 1873, until September, 1877, and he produced "Monsieur Alphonse," "Man and Wife," "Pique," and "Divorce." Charles Coghlan, Edwin Booth, Emily Rigl, and Adelaide Neilson played under Mr. Daly's auspices. "Love's Labor 's Lost" was

[1] This uncommon portrait of Edwin Booth is from an original India-ink drawing, after a photograph taken in New-York in 1860.

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first produced in America at this theater, which, after Mr. Daly left it, came under the management successively of Colonel Haverly, John Stetson, Eugene Tompkins, and, in 1890, of Harry Miner. It was burned out in January, 1891; but Mr. Miner reopened a new theater on the same site in May, 1892. Mary Anderson made her début here before a metropolitan audience. Mme. Duse, a young Italian actress of undoubted talent, who has been named as a possible successor to Rachel and Ristori, played a successful engagement of several months at this theater early in 1893.

The San Francisco Minstrels opened their hall at Broadway and Twenty-ninth street in 1874. Later it became the Comedy Theater, and successively the Gaiety, New Comedy, Dockstader's Minstrels, and the Gaiety once more. Hermann rebuilt it in 1890, and opened it for his own exhibition of legerdemain and for dramatic purposes. Jacobs' Third Avenue Theater, at Thirty-first street and Third Avenue, was opened in 1875, and eventually became a "variety" house, and was called the American Theater. In 1883 it was renamed the Third Avenue by the McKee Rankins, who reconstructed it. For a short time it became a German theater, under the name of the Apollo, until the present manager, J. M. Hill, in 1885, once more adopted its original name.

The Eagle Theater, on Sixth Avenue, between Thirty-second and Thirty-third streets, was opened in 1875. William Henderson became the lessee in 1878, and called it the Standard Theater, presenting Gilbert and Sullivan's comic operas, then in the height of their popularity. It was burned down in 1883, but reopened within twelve months, J. M. Hill becoming its manager; and there combination companies with both comic opera and popular comedy have since been performed. Of the same general character as the Standard is the Bijou Theater, on Broadway, between Thirtieth and Thirty-first streets. In 1878 it was the Theater Brighton, devoted to negro-minstrelsy. Then it became Wood's Broadway Theater, and, in 1880, the Bijou Opera House. It was later rebuilt under the auspices of Colonel John McCaull, and named the Bijou Theater, where at first comic opera and burlesque flourished. Dixey appeared here in "Adonis" during six hundred continuous performances. Then followed farces and comedies like "The Brass Monkey" and "The City Directory," under the management of J. Wesley Rosenquest.

Daly's Theater was opened under its present management on September 17, 1879. Where it now stands on Broadway, near Thirty-first street, was once Banvard's Museum, and still later Wood's Museum. Daly's Theater is one of the handsomest in New-York, owing to its artistic embellishments. In 1879 Mr. Daly brought out Ada Rehan, John Drew, and Catherine Lewis; and afterward, James

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Lewis, George Clarke, and Mrs. Gilbert. The performances at this theater are of too recent occurrence to require extended notice. It will suffice to say that many excellent plays of the character of "Dollars and Sense," "The Passing Regiment," "Nancy and Co.," and "The Foresters," have been given, as well as the "Taming of the Shrew," "As You Like It," and other standard pieces.

Between 1870 and 1879 there also flourished several other New-York theaters, one of which was Henry E. Abbey's New Park Theater, on Broadway, near Twenty-first street, which was burned down on the night Mrs. Langtry was billed for her American début. Another was the Lexington Avenue Opera House, or Terrace Garden Theater, where German operetta has been given. A third was, and is, Tony Pastor's Theater, under Tammany Hall, which once was Bryant's Minstrel Hall, and later the Germania Theater, and where, under Pastor's management, Lillian Russell made her début.

The third and last Wallack's Theater, now Palmer's Theater, on the corner of Broadway and Thirtieth street, was built under the auspices of the late Lester Wallack, and opened on January 4, 1882, with the "School for Scandal." The traditions of the two former Wallack's Theaters were perpetuated and the excellence of the stock company kept up until Lester Wallack retired in May, 1887, when Henry E. Abbey assumed the management. In October, 1888, Mr. Palmer became the lessee, and, at Mr. Wallack's suggestion, renamed it Palmer's Theater, continuing the admirable methods that marked his managership of the Union Square and Madison Square theaters. Tommaso Salvini, Constant Coquelin, Jane Hading, E. S. Willard, and John Drew have all been seen recently at this theater, which has been marked by a continuous series of successful performances. The former site of the Aquarium, opened in October, 1876, on the northwest corner of Broadway and Thirty-fifth street, is occupied by the New Park Theater, which, considerably changed from the Aquarium building, was inaugurated in 1882. The management adopted the combination plan, which now unfortunately usurps nearly the whole New-York stage, thereby eliminating entirely the careful preparatory training formerly considered necessary when stock companies were in vogue. After the fire at the Theatre Comique, Edward Harrigan occupied the New Park Theater, where were heard the laughable Irish-American farces from his pen, such as "McAllister's Legacy." Harrigan left there in 1890, since which time it has been mainly used for melodrama and vaudeville. The Metropolitan Opera House should have a passing notice in this chapter, as Salvini played one of his engagements there, and on May 10, 1888, "Hamlet" was given for the benefit of Lester Wallack.

The new Casino, in the distinctively Moorish style of architecture,

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situated on the corner of Broadway and Thirty-ninth street, has been given up, since its opening in October, 1882, almost entirely to comic opera. Proctor's Theater, on West Twenty-third street, occupies the ground once covered by a church, and later by the Temple in which Salmi Morse endeavored to present to the New-York public his American reproduction of the "Passion Play" of Ober-Ammergau. The municipal authorities, however, would not allow its production in New-York. During an attempt at rehearsal it was suppressed in the middle of the first act. Finally, after an entire private performance was given before Mr. Morse's friends, the "Passion Play" was refused presentation; the result being that it broke the heart of, and financially ruined, its projector, who committed suicide. In 1883 Morse's Temple was called the Twenty-third Street Theater, and when rebuilt in 1889 was opened as Proctor's Theater. The Lyceum Theater, on Fourth Avenue, near Twenty-third street, is quite unique in its decorations, which are mainly of artistic colored and jeweled glass. It is the only theater in the city without a family circle, and was opened in 1885 by Steele Mackaye. Helen Dauvray preceded in its management Daniel Frohman, who has followed the old traditions of a stock company, and good comedy and refined drama have always predominated. The Lyceum's presentation of "The Charity Ball" was noteworthy for its excellence, and "Lord Chumley" had E. H. Sothern, the son of the original Lord Dundreary, in the title rôle. One of the interesting associations of the theater is that it has been the headquarters of the American Academy of the Dramatic Arts, of which the director is Franklin Haven Sargent. This is a school of elocution, dramatic action, stage technique, and operatic work. The Theatre of Arts and Letters, an American evolution of the "Théâtre Libre" of Paris, is affiliated with it. The Windsor Theater, on the Bowery, although only known as such from 1886, has a history dating back to the old Bowery Amphitheater, later called the Zoölogical Institute. In 1845 a company played there for some months; later, on its site was built the Stadt Theater, the original home in New-York of German drama and opera. Here Daniel E. Bandmann acted in his native tongue before he played in English. Just prior to 1880 the Stadt was rechristened the Windsor Theater, but was burned down in November, 1883. It was rebuilt, and reopened on February 8, 1886, and has since been managed on the combination plan. The Amberg Theater, on Irving Place, built in 1888 on the site of Irving Hall, has since occupied the same position relatively to the German-American population in matters theatrical as had previously the Stadt, Germania, Apollo, and Thalia theaters. Ernst Possart, Emil Thomas, Josef Kainz, and Marie Barkany are among the noted Germans who have appeared at Amberg's.

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The last of the Broadway Theaters was opened on March 3, 1888, with "La Tosca," Fanny Davenport in the title rôle. It is situated on the corner of Broadway and Forty-first street, where once stood the old Metropolitan Concert Hall, afterward successively named the Casino, Alcazar, and Cosmopolitan Theater. Edwin Booth, Helen Modjeska, De Wolf Hopper, and Francis Wilson have been the principal performers who have starred there. The Garden Theater was opened on September 27, 1890, as an annex of the new Madison Square Garden, with its lofty Sevillan tower and graceful arcades. The new Madison Square Garden stands on the site of the old Harlem and New Haven Railroad depot. Barnum established his hippodrome here in 1872–3; it was afterward called Gilmore's Garden, and still later the Madison Square Garden. When the new garden was opened a stage was erected on the Fourth Avenue side on which theatrical spectacles and ballets were performed. This was afterward taken down, and the whole available space utilized for seating accommodations, so that now an audience of twelve thousand persons can be comfortably seated. The Garden Theater, which, from its inception, has been managed by Mr. French, has been chiefly devoted to comic opera. Harrigan's Theater, in West Thirty-sixth street, near Sixth Avenue, was opened on December 22, 1890, since when Mr. Harrigan has continued to delight New-York audiences with his local comic dramas, in which he himself, and John Wild and Mrs. Annie Yeamans, take the leading rôles. The Berkeley Lyceum, on Forty-fourth street, near Fifth Avenue, was opened in 1888 for amateur theatricals, and in this pleasant but small theater several professional actors of repute have been developed. The People's Theater was built in 1883 by Harry Miner, on the Bowery, facing Spring street, on the site of the old Volks Garden, for cheap dramatic performances by combination companies. The new Theatre Comique, on One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street, was opened in 1884, but in 1890 was given the name of the Harlem Theater. Oscar Hammerstein is the builder and owner of three theaters. The Harlem Opera House, on West One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street, was opened by him in September, 1889, and the Columbus Theater, on East One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street, near Lexington Avenue, in October, 1890. Both of these theaters are given over to the star and combination system, at popular prices. The Manhattan Opera House, on Thirty-fourth street, which possesses many novel features borrowed from Parisian theaters, was opened in November, 1892, by Mr. Hammerstein.

Nor will all those specified close the roll of theaters on Manhattan Island; for there are in process of erection three playhouses, in which it is claimed all that art and science can possibly aid in construction, for theatric effect and for public comfort, will be utilized. The

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American Theater, on Eighth Avenue and Forty-second street, will be managed by Mr. French, who will present spectacular pieces; the Empire Theater, at Broadway and Fortieth street, by Mr. Frohman, solely for the production, by his stock company, of the American drama; and Abbey's Theater, on the corner of Broadway and Thirty-eighth street, will be devoted to stars and combinations.

The evolution of the New-York theater has now been briefly described, in not only a greatly condensed but most certainly in a somewhat superficial manner, when the mass of facts involved is realized. Whether we regard its beginning from the standpoint of a few theatrically minded young men meeting in a store on Cruger's wharf, or from that of the visit to New-York city about 1730 of actor Anthony Aston, or from that of the Murray and Kean company of comedians, from Philadelphia, playing "Richard III." in the year 1750, in a room of a building belonging to Rip Van Dam, on Nassau street,—it must be remembered that between then and now about a century and a half have elapsed. To-day there are over forty theaters in the city, and there have been as many more during the last one hundred and fifty years, the former locations of which are positively unknown except to a very limited number of our population of one and three quarter millions. All the performers attached to the companies playing in those hundred theaters, or thereabouts, during the period described, lived, moved, and had their being — their home joys, domestic anxieties, and social pleasures, as well as their theatrical triumphs and disappointments. Since the year 1730 there have been many thousands of actors and actresses in New-York, and as with the players, of whom there have been good, bad, and indifferent, so with the plays, for their number is not only legion, but many of their titles, as well as the names of their authors, have passed away into the limbo of forgetfulness. It would, therefore, have been impossible in a brief account of the theaters of Manhattan Island — to which this chapter is limited — to have mentioned all associated therewith, much less to have done justice to every factor in what has constituted the past of the New-York dramatic stage.

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CHAPTER XVIII

COMMERCIAL HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK
1626–1806

FROM its birth New-York has been a trading city. It was conceived in that idea, and it has always been true to the purpose of its origin. It has been recited how the charter of the West India Company was obtained from the States-General of the Netherlands in 1621, and that among the powers it bestowed was included the raising of fleets for predatory warfare. Never was the adage "As the twig is bent so is the tree inclined" more thoroughly exemplified than in the taste thus early grafted on the Manhattan settlement for privateering and its natural corollary, smuggling; or, to use the gentler term later applied to it, "illicit trade." In granting this privilege, which was tantamount to what was called a "roving commission," the States-General reserved a share of the treasures that should be captured. As a further privilege they exempted all exportations of Holland manufactures made by the company, and all importations received by it of American products, from all duties for eight years.

The first act of Peter Minuit, the first director-general of New Netherlands, on his arrival in 1626, was one of trade. He purchased a tract of twenty-two thousand acres on Manhattan Island from the tribe of the Reckgawawancks for the sum of sixty guilders, or twenty-four dollars. The first commercial transaction was that recited in the sale to the Pilgrims of the New Plymouth colony of some strings of wampum,—a somewhat peculiar transaction, as the Narragansett Indians were the principal makers of wampumpeage of both kinds: the white of the periwinkle, and the black of the quahog, or hard-shell clam—the sole currency of the Indians over a vast surface of country before the arrival of the white man either at Plymouth Rock or the Island of Manhattan. Furs were the first articles of export. During the administration of Walter Van Twiller the exports to the old country reached the sum of 134,953 florins ($53,981), the value of 14,891 beavers and 1413 otters. Smuggling even then began to make such inroads on the revenues of the West India Company that

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the Chamber of Accounts reported in 1644 a net loss to its treasury of over five hundred and fifty thousand guilders. Yet the year previous two Spanish prizes were brought in with tobacco, sugar, and ebony from Cuba by a privateer owned by a New Amsterdam company. The little fleet which brought over Director-General Peter Stuyvesant took a Spanish prize on the voyage, and about the first thing the doughty governor did on his arrival was to order the two men-of-war then on the station "to go to sea and cruise" against the Spaniards. The erudite and careful student who wrote the chapter in the first volume of this history on Stuyvesant's days, says: "Of the trade regulations under former governors of the province, but little is known." Not till 1642 was trade with foreign countries permitted to New Amsterdam merchants on their own account. In 1651 a discrimination of sixteen per cent. duty was ordered on all imports from the English-American colonies into New Amsterdam, while goods exported thence to the same colonies were exempt from all duties. In 1655 an ordinance settled the values of wampum, which was the only money of the settlement and a legal tender, and so remained until 1656, when Stuyvesant conceived the idea of making beaver-skins a currency, and so declared them by an ordinance of 1657. Their money value was eight florins ($3.20). There is no accessible summary of the trade of the port during Stuyvesant's rule.

After the English occupation (1664) regular reports to the home government render the study of the commercial relations of New-York more easy and satisfactory. A request of Stuyvesant himself to the Duke of York in 1667 informs us as to the status of the Hollanders under the new régime. "Beaver, the most desirable commodity for Europe, hath always been purchased from the Indians by the commodities brought from Holland, as Camper, Duffles, Hatchetts, and other iron works made up at Utrick [Utrecht] and much esteemed by the Natives, asks for two such vessels, the Crosse Heart of 200 toun, the Indian of 120 to go from Holland to N. Y." A note attached to this document reads: "Granted for seven years on Colonel Nichols's pass emitted to three ships." This was in accordance with the stipulations in the surrender, August 29, 1664: "It is consented that any people may come from ye Netherlands and plantations in this country and that Dutch vessels may freely come hither, any of ye Dutch may freely return home or send any merchandize home in vessels of their own country." Upon a petition of the common council of New-York, this permission was withdrawn. Though the town had changed its name, its population was as yet unchanged; in the words of the petition, "the inhabitants being for the most part Dutch born." The English had long coveted the fur trade up the Hudson River. Our readers remember the incident of the ship William, sent out by a company of London

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merchants in 1633. She sailed up to Fort Orange, now Albany, and took on board a load of peltries, which the Dutch soldiers from Fort Amsterdam made them discharge. Now that the English were in possession, they continued the old exclusion. "No foreign vessel," wrote the duke's agent, 167⅘, "is permitted to pass up the river and sell at Albany." And he complained to Andros that the Bostonians and other strangers were allowed to send small vessels to Esopus (Kingston) and Albany. Governor Edmund Andros showed liberality in allowing free access to the Indian tribes up the river. The city wharf was improved this year, and the contract with the builders was for payment in "beaver pay," one half of which in "ready wampum." This is a late date for the use of wampum in a bargain between whites, though it no doubt lasted much longer in the trade with the Indians, both Iroquois and Huron tribes. Rhode Island was the last of the New England colonies to give it up; but in 1662 the General Assembly of that colony, considering that "wampumpeage is fallen to too low a rate and it cannot be judged that it is but a commodity and that it is unreasonable that it should be forced upon any man," ordered that all public fines should be paid in current pay according to merchants' pay, and repealed all former laws. Black peage had fallen in 1649 to "four a penny."

Flour was the chief staple even of the Dutch settlement. In the earliest known map (1661), a town windmill for the manufacture is shown within the limits of the present Battery Park. But the product was limited, and Andros in 1675 found it necessary to fix the price for winter wheat at 5*s.* 6*d.* per bushel, summer wheat at 2*s.* 6*d.*, Indian corn at 2*s.* 6*d.* As the French pushed their trade along the Great Lakes and far into the interior, and gradually grasped the fur trade, flour became more and more a necessary article of export. Andros, in his report to the Council of Plantations in 1678, says: "Our principal places of trade are New-York and Southampton, except Albany for the Indyans. Produce is land provisions of all sorts as of wheate (exported yearly about sixty thousand bushels), pease, beef, pork, and some Refuse fish, Tobacco, beavers, peltry, or furs from the Indians, Deale and oak timber, planks, pipe staves, lumber, horses and pitch or tarr lately begunn to be made commoditys imported are all sorts of English manufacture for Christians and blanketts Duffals etc., for Indians about fifty thousand pounds yearly. Pemaquid affords merchantable ships and masts. Our merchants are not many but most inhabitants and planters about two thousand able to bear arms, old inhabitants of the place or of England, Except in and neere New Yorke of Dutch extraction and some few of all having but few servants much wanted and but very few slaves—a merchant worth one thousand or five hundred pounds is accompted a good substantiall

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merchant and a planter worth half that in movables is accompted rich — with all the Estates may be valued at about £150,000. There may lately have trade to ye Colony in a yeare about ten to fifteen ships or vessels of which together 100 touns each English, New England and our own built of which five small ships and a Ketch now belonging to New York four of them built there. No privateers on the coast." And again, "imported European goods of all sorts chiefly woven and other English manufactures and linings, some wines from Fyall and Madeira; and a Barbadoes and West India trade from whence chiefly comes rum. The Acts of Trade and Navigation are sayed and is generally believed not to be observed in the Colonies as they ought, there being no Custom Houses. But the Governor of Massachusetts gives cleerings certificates and passes for every particular thing from thence to New York."

Governor Thomas Dongan, in 1686, is more specific, and shows a considerable advance in the trade of the port. "New-York and Albany live wholly upon trade with the Indians, England and the West Indies. The returns for England are generally Beaver Peltry oil [whale oil], and tobacco when we can have it. To the West Indies we send, flouer, bread, pease, pork, and sometimes horses; the return from thence for the most part is rum which pays the king a considerable excise, and some molasses which serves the people to make drink, and pays no custom. There are about nine or ten three mast vessels of about eighty or one hundred tons burthen, two or three ketches or barks of about forty tun, and about twenty sloops of twenty or five and twenty tun belonging to the government—all of which trade for England, Holland, and the West Indies, except six or seven sloops that use the river trade to Albany and that way. No product of Europe or the West Indies be imported into this province unless it were directly from England or such part of the West Indies where such commodities were produced without paying as a custom to his Majesty, ten per cent." The growing importance of the flour trade is shown by the change in the arms of the province. The beaver had figured on the great seal since 1654, and the flour-barrel was added in 1686,—not for long, however, as on the accession of the Duke of York to the throne as James the Second, the colonies were consolidated into a new dominion, and by the king's instructions to Andros, the viceroy, the seal of New-York was broken in council, and the great seal of New England thereafter used. Governor Dongan, by his wise management, secured in 1685, by an expedition of traders to the western Indians, a restoration of the channel of the fur trade to Albany, from which it had been diverted by the French governors of Canada. That year the Seneca Indians brought in ten thousand beaver-skins to Albany.

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The English revolution of 1688, the overthrow of the Stuarts and the accession of William of Orange to the English throne, with the consequent Leisler troubles in the New-York province, greatly deranged trade,—many of the principal merchants seeking refuge in New Jersey from the dangerous agitations of the town, which continued until the arrival of Governor Fletcher restored confidence and tranquillity to the city, and was not distasteful to the inhabitants; but commerce was by no means thriving. The beginning of King William's war (as the war with France which was proclaimed in the colonies in March, 1690, and continued till 1697, was called) was the signal for a descent of French privateers, seven of which swept the coast of New England from Cape Cod to New London in the May succeeding, and each year thereafter hung about the entire Atlantic coast-line in May, June, and July. In November, 1694, Fletcher advised the Board of Trade: "The trade of this place to the West Indies has much declined, our merchants fall upon new inventions to trade to New Foundland, if the Kings ships were permitted to convoy our vessels thither." The king's revenue from the customs at that time was £1000 per annum, "more than sufficient in time of peace for the public charge of the country." Whatever his faults may have been, Governor Fletcher has the credit of having established many excellent institutions: among others the first exchange for the daily meeting of merchants for trade, which was ordered to be on the Long Bridge at the foot of Broad street.

Privateering was ever found to be a two-edged sword; limitations of truce and treaty stipulations were soon disregarded in the eager pursuit of easily gotten wealth. Always practised in New-York, it became a recognized profession, and nearly every merchant of consequence had an interest, not only in one, but in many ventures. In the time of King William's war, under Fletcher's administration, it passed all bounds of decency. The capture of the Great Mogul with its offerings to Mecca, in 1695, was the crisis of its existence. The story has been told in a prior chapter devoted to the subject.[1] The depredations of Captain Kidd, who was employed by Lord Bellomont, Robert Livingston, and others, to suppress piracy, are well known. They occurred in 1697.

In 1697 the instructions to the Earl of Bellomont were precise "to suffer not the adjoining Colonies to endeavour to obstruct the trade of New York and Albany," and "not to suffer any innovations within the River of New York, nor any goods to pass up the same but what shall have paid the duties at New York"; and he was further directed "to give all due encouragement and invitation to merchants and others who shall bring trade into the said province or any way contribute to

[1] *Vide* Vol. I., p. 515.

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the advantage thereof, in particular to the Royal African Company of England."[1] This was a slave-trading company. England found she could not get negroes fast enough by her licensed companies, and now opened the trade to all comers, with its consequent unrestrained barbarities which are still within man's memory.

The preparation of flour for export was always a chief industry of the city and colony. In 1678 a monopoly was granted to a few leading citizens of bolting all the flour and baking all the bread for export, baked bread being in demand in the West Indies. The neighboring towns of the province protested, but Fletcher, at the instance of Mayor De Peyster and the common council, by his intervention with the king, continued the privilege. In 1694 the privilege was abolished as "unlawful by law." The common council petitioned for its restoration in 1696. This curious document appears in this history (I. 496). There is another equally quaint preserved in the English records; it speaks of "grain as the staple commoditie of the province of New York," and adds that "the citizens had no sooner perceived that there were greater quantities of wheat raised than could be consumed within the said province but they contrived and invented the art of bolting, by which they converted the wheat into flour and made it a manufacture not only profitable to all the inhabitants of this province, by the encouragement of tillage and navigation, but likewise beneficial and commodious to all the plantations, and the improvement thereof is the true and only cause of the growth, strength, and increase of buildings within the same and of the riches, plenty of money and rise of value of lands of other parts of the province and the livelihood of all the inhabitants of this city did chiefly depend thereon." The minutes of the common council of 1692 record that the Supreme Court was of the opinion that the city of New-York had the charter or privilege of bolting or packing flour. Of this, as stated, they were deprived by the Assembly in 1694. Governor Andros somewhat mended matters by prohibiting the transportation of wheat, "that the same might be improved by the inhabitants of this City by bolting it into flour and to bake 'bisketts' for transportation." The writer of the document quoted complains that the city of New-York, which had been called the "Granary of America," where more or less than 40,000 to 50,000 bushels were in store, suffered greatly in consequence of this legislation, and the supply fell off to scarce 1000 bushels, insufficient for the supply of the inhabitants. The sketch closes with the remarkable statement that of the 983 houses then in New-York 600 depended on

[1] There had existed in England three trading companies to Africa — the first, incorporated in the reign of Elizabeth, was succeeded by the Company of Royal Adventurers, chartered in 1662, which in turn sold out to the Royal African Company, chartered in 1672. Parliament opened the slave-trade to all merchants June 24, 1698, for a term of fourteen years. The act of Parliament opening the trade stated that it was "for the well supplying of plantations with sufficient numbers of negroes at reasonable prices."

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"bolting," while in the three counties of Kings, Queens, and Ulster there were not over thirty "bolters."

The common-council petition of 1696 gives the number of ships in New-York as sixty, of boats forty, of sloops sixty-two, which later decreased for various reasons. Governor Fletcher was charged with connivance in the piratical trade, but in his defense he says that the province had improved more in building and trade in the five years of his rule than in many years before. And Bellomont, who had entered on his government in the spring of 1698, while he complains of "finding the greatest abuses as to trade," corroborates Fletcher's statement as to the growth of the city, which is "double to what it was ten years since, and the City grown vastly rich and populous and increased to double the amount of houses." Yet he complains that "there hath been a most lycencious trade with Pyrats, Scotland and Curacoa." He attempted to bring it to a stop, but reports that on his seizing "some East India goods imported in an unfree bottom the whole City seemed to be in an uproar and looked upon it as a violent seizing of their property." There was no naval officer distinct from the collector, nor any register, which rendered violations by connivance easy. It was by Fletcher's connivance, says Bellomont, that "the City had been greatly enriched, while the revenues from the Customs was less than ten years before." "Here at New-York," he adds, "they run all the goods they can and too much unlawful trade there is." Bellomont had been warned in March, 1698, of "his Majesty's just resentment against piracy as so much encouraged from his Majesty's dominions."

An account of goods imported from England to Boston, 1699–1700, states "the invoices at £120,000 Boston money, bona fide; probably £30,000 more in New-York, on which the duty at two per cent. would be £6000; 1200 entries and clearings show that New-York had nearly one half as much trade as Boston." A comparison of the trade of the ports shows Boston twenty-five ships, one hundred to three hundred tons; fifty brigantines, thirteen ketches, and sixty-seven sloops, in all one hundred and ninety-four tons; New-York six ships above and eight under one hundred tons; two ketches, twenty-seven brigantines, and eighty-one sloops. Upon the Earl of Bellomont's representations of the increasing evasions of the revenue acts, the Board of Trade in 1700 ordered him to enforce the act of 10 Charles II., forbidding "that any commodity of the growth product or manufacture of Europe be imported into any of his Majesty's plantations but what shall be bona fide and without fraud shipped in England, Wales, or the town of Berwick." Of the condition of the trade on his arrival he wrote: "The Beaver Trade here and at Boston is sunk to little or nothing and the market is so low for beaver in England that it is scarce worth the transporting. I have been told that in one year when this province

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was in possession of the Dutch there were 66,000 beaver skins exported from this town, and this last year there was but 15,241 beaver skins exported as by Colonel Cortlandt's account."

Queen Anne's war with France and Spain, which lasted till 1713, was proclaimed in the colonies in May, 1702, and the same month Lord Cornbury superseded Bellomont in the New-York government. The summer which followed was that known as the "time of the great sickness." The disease was the yellow fever, brought in a vessel from St. Thomas, and "killed almost every patient seized with it." Every merchant that could left the city. Cornbury was as harsh in his reports of Bellomont as those of that gentleman had been of Fletcher. "The trade of this place," wrote Cornbury, in 1703, to the Lords of Plantations, "was formerly very considerable beyond any of the neighboring provinces, but hath been extremely ruined and impaired ever since my Lord Bellomont came hither." Later he informed the board that the war had cut the New-York province out of the trade with Spain, France, and Flanders, and part of the Baltic, and his lieutenant-governor, Richard Ingoldesby, wrote home, in 1704, that "the manufacturing of flour was of little value here because of the war, a stop being put to its consumption in the Spanish West Indies," and that the inhabitants of New-York were greatly impoverished thereby.

The condition of the trade is well displayed in the petition of the merchants of New-York (fifty-seven in number) to Governor Cornbury, on June 25, 1705. The petition reads that "the principal staple of the trade of this province is the manufacture of wheat, expended chiefly in the West Indies by the English, and in their trade with Spanish subjects upon the continent; that the returns made from England (excepting the small trade of peltry, which is now so diminished as to be scarce worth regarding) were heavy pieces of eight [the Portuguese johannes, a gold coin of the value of eight dollars], and other produce of the West Indies, which came to us in return for our said manufacture. That upon peace after the last war, the greatest part of the heavy money in this province was remitted to England. That since the breaking out of the present war between France and Spain, our manufactures have been of small value in the West Indies to our great impoverishment." The petition asked the suspension of the proclamation as to foreign coins issued by order of the queen. The province would never have suffered under any reasonable management by the Lords of Trade. These gentlemen were repeatedly informed that, if encouraged, it could supply England with all manner of naval stores in abundance—pitch, tar, resin, turpentine, flax, hemp, masts, and timber of all kinds and sizes, and very good of their kind. Of the trade of the period, William Smith (the historian) gives a very gloomy account. "Though," he says, "a war was proclaimed by England on May 4,

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1702, against France and Spain, yet as the two Nations had entered into a treaty of Neutrality with the French in Canada, this province, instead of being harassed on its borders by the enemy carried on a trade very advantageous to all those who were concerned in it."

On June 3, 1705, a ship bound for Jamaica was taken by a French privateer from Martinique, and on the 14th the same came to Sandy Hook, and sent her boats up to the watering-place on Staten Island to capture a vessel, but did not find her. Her men landed below the Navesink, and burned two country houses. On October 6, 1706, two sloops belonging to the port of New-York, going to Jamaica, were taken by the French, "and the conveyance by the way of the West Indies [to England] has hitherto proved very uncertain with respect to the Colonies on this Continent." Upon this day the merchants of New-York petitioned for fortifying the city. Subscriptions were raised till the Assembly, prorogued to November 12, should meet. A conference was held between the council and the merchants, and four of the latter, Colonel Abraham De Peyster, Captain Robert Lurting, Captain Reed, and Captain David Provoost, were appointed to receive the moneys subscribed. The same day, however, Lord Cornbury advised the Lords of Trade: "The Lowestoff and the Triton's[1] prize are both here, and are ships fit for the service for which they are sent." He asks the appointment of "a Clerk of the Cheque in this port, or else to empower the Governor to meet the men belonging to her Majesty's ships of war in this province; by this means as soon as a ship has her complement, the press will close, and the Merchants will be able to man their vessels." "And," he adds, "I do not find the people are very willing the Queen shall be served, but they think it very hard that the men must be pressed under pretense of the Queen's service, when, indeed, there is no need of it." There seems to have been some doubt in the minds of the officials as to the use of the queen's colors for privateersmen, but the Admiralty on being inquired of made no objection. In 1705 a French privateer sailed into the wholly unfortified harbor, and threw the city into the greatest consternation. The Assembly, in 1707, adopted resolutions declaring their condemnation of the raising of money for any purpose "by any tax impost or burthen on goods imported or exported, or any clog or hindrance in traffic or commerce, as having driven many persons out of the province and impoverished the planters, the freeholders, and the inhabitants generally"; and also, that "the excessive sums received from masters of vessels trading here under the notion of port charges," visiting the said vessels by supernumerary officers and taking extraordinary fees,

[1] The Triton cruised from the east end of Long Island to the capes of the Delaware. This season she had an encounter with a privateer which had fourteen guns and one hundred and eighty men. The privateer fought stoutly and got away. Either she or one of her confederates, under the French flag, took several vessels while cruising off the capes of Virginia that same summer.

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is "the great discouragement of trade, and strangers coming among us, beyond the precedent of any other port, and without color of law."

Before Cornbury's administration there had grown up an *in transitu* trade in the export to England of "Logwood and other dyeing wood, Cochineal, Indigo and Cocoa nuts," which came from the islands of Barbadoes, Montserrat, St. Christopher, Nevis, Antigua, and Jamaica; and now and then a vessel would go to the coast of Africa for a cargo of negroes, but Virginia and Maryland were even then a better market for the slave. Complaining in 1708 of the decay of the trade in the ten years preceding, Cornbury ascribes it to the repeal of the flour-bolting privilege, and to the freedom allowed New-Englanders, who purchased corn in the New-York province with clipped coin, and, carrying it home, ground or bolted it and shipped it to the West Indies. Notwithstanding the war and the severity with which hostilities were carried on, the New-Yorkers managed to maintain friendly relations with the French in the West Indies, and to a greater degree with the Spaniards on the main, and traded with them to such an extent that the Board of Trade complained to Governor Hunter, in 1710, that New-York not only supplied the French islands but their privateers with "goods and provisions." In 1710 a slave-market was opened at the foot of Wall street.

Queen Anne's war was concluded by the Peace of Utrecht in March, 1713. One of its provisions was the "full liberty" of the subjects of France and England in America, "of going and coming on account of trade." Queen Anne died in August, 1714, and an entire concord, for the first time in a long period, between the executive, Brigadier Robert Hunter, the governor, and the Assembly, seemed to indicate renewed prosperity; but, unfortunately for the New-York colonists, whose trade was chiefly in provisions, there was an exclusion of vessels from their coast. To make up for this, Hunter again urged on the Board of Trade an increase in the use of the naval stores produced here; and in support of his claims he gave a long list of the ships in this port, "almost all of which have been built here." It was at this period that William Walton established his great shipyards on the East River, above where Catharine street now touches the water. In 1719 the British sugar-colonies demanded of Parliament a prohibition of all intercourse between the northern colonies and any tropical islands except the British, though they did not hesitate to maintain an illicit trade with their French and Spanish neighbors. In 1720 Hunter reports that the trade, and consequently the extent of shipping and the numbers of mariners, had been gradually increasing. Tar had again come into request, and whale-oil and -bone were added to the outgoing cargoes to England; while flour, pork, and other provisions were shipped to the southern islands, and horses to Surinam, Curaçoa,

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and St. Thomas. There was little or no trade from any foreign country. The returns from St. Thomas, Curaçoa, and Surinam were only in gold or silver—at least such trade as was avowed. He adds that there was no sort of manufacturing deserving of mention.

A "Report of the State of Plantations in America," made in 1721 by the Lords Commissioners, gives an account of the effort to increase the product of naval stores. In 1709 it is here stated, "the commissioners sent over about three thousand Palatines for this work. They settled on the shores of the Hudson's River and prepared trees for the making of tar, and in 1713 prepared above one hundred thousand trees, capable of producing about thirty thousand barrels of tar, worth at 8*s*. per barrel in New-York, say £17,000. Governor Hunter maintained these men as he was able until they dispersed, some taking to husbandry, others leaving the province." The report states also that there was iron in great quantities, some copper and lead in the far back Indian settlements, and coal-mines on Long Island not worked. The average of exports to Great Britain for three years last preceding was £50,000 a year; the imports from there were £16,000, a balance of trade in favor of New-York of £34,000. The vessels of the province were small and not numerous, and most, as stated, employed in carrying provisions to the southern islands, and in the coasting colonial trade. The population was increasing. By the same document it appears that there were cleared in the three years 1714–17, sixty-four ships, 4330 tons, and that in this branch New-York was then exceeded by every colony except Pennsylvania.

Governor William Burnet undertook the affairs of the province in 1720. Coming from the office of comptroller of the customs in London, he had the advantage of an intelligent understanding of this branch of his executive duties. Cadwallader Colden was his chief adviser here on subjects of this nature. The first Assembly after his arrival passed two laws affecting trade: one for laying a duty of two per cent. prime cost on the importation of European goods, which the king shortly repealed; another prohibiting the sale of Indian goods to the French, which was little favored. As has been stated, there had been a great trade since the Peace of Utrecht between Albany and Canada for goods valuable among the Indians. This caused discord between the importers of this class of goods and the governor, who, however, persisted in the hope of drawing the trade to our own hands. The London merchants joined their New-York brethren in a petition to the king to disapprove the prohibition of this French trade. The war grew hot in the council, and divided families into hostile camps. The report of the council in opposition to the measure, addressed to the Board of Trade and Plantations, Smith, the historian, styles "memorable," and gives the text in full. It certainly

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has a great historical value as to the condition of the Indians. As to the merits of the controversy, able as the argument of James Alexander and Cadwallader Colden may have been, and perhaps correct in their opinions as to the influence of the trade on our Indian and French relations, it may be supposed that in this as in most cases the merchants knew their own interests better than the lawyers, who disputed even this claim of the traders themselves. But, as was usual, the lawyers had their way, and a steady continuance in their policy brought about the Revolution.

In 1723 Colden reported the state of trade: "Trade chiefly to Britain and the British West Indies. Wines from Madeira, and a trade with Curaçoa; some with Surinam and a little private trade with the French Islands. That with the West Indies wholly to the advantage of this province, Curaçoa and Jamaica taking great quantities of flour for the Spanish trade. Trade to Barbadoes most considerable because of the transportation thence to the Spanish coast and to the French Islands, so that we consume more of the produce of that island in rum, sugar, and molasses than of all the others put together. The trade to Madeira is to our loss. Whatever advantages are with the West Indies, it is hard to make it even with England, so that the money imported from the West Indies seldom remains six months in the Province before it is exported to England, current cash here being wholly in current bills of this province and a few Lyon Dollars. American wheat better than European, and is profitable trade when provisions are scarce in France. Staple Commodity, Flour and Bread, sent to West Indies, where we are allowed to trade, also Wheat, Pipe-Staves, and a little beeswax to Madeira. Also considerable Pork and Bacon and Staves, some Beef Butter and a few candles to the West Indies. Trade to the Spanish Coast dangerous under unarmed vessels; occasional log-wood from Campeachy and Honduras. From Barbadoes rum, molasses and Sugar, all consumed here. Some rum for the country, and some rum and sugar to England. From Jamaica, Rum, Molasses, and the best Muscovado for consumption of this Colony, sometimes Log-wood, but principal returns are in Spanish money. From Curaçoa, Spanish money and Cocoa for England. From Surinam only returns in Molasses and a little Rum. From St. Thomas the Danes supplied the French with our provisions. We have cotton from there and from the French Islands Cocoa, Sugar, and Indigo chiefly exported to England. We supply Boston and Rhode Island as well as South Carolina with wheat and flour. Pennsylvania alone rivals us in our trade to the West Indies but the credit of this province in manufactures exceeds that of Pennsylvania. Besides the sea trade, considerable inland trade with the Indians for beaver, other furs and peltry, and with the French of Canada for Beaver. This province has the

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largest share of this to England most profitable trade, and is the only rival in it to the French. Great Quantities of English goods in English Cloaths sold to the Canadian Indian traders yearly."

The London Custom House returns from 1723–28, under Governor John Montgomerie's administration, were rendered from Christmas, 1723, to Christmas, 1724: imports from New-York, £35,316 18*s.* 9*d.*; exports to, £63,020 0*s.* 0*d.*; 1725–26, imports from New-York, £38,307 17*s.* 0*d.*; exports to, £84,850 18*s.* 0*d.*; 1727–28, imports, £20,045 12*s.* 11*d.*; exports to, £78,561 6*s.* 4*d.* Up to the year 1725, information as to the commerce of New-York is only to be obtained from the reports of the governors to the Board of Trade. Thereafter the newspapers appear. The New-York Society Library possesses what is probably a unique copy of the "first Bradford"—that is, the first issue of the "New-York Gazette." Examining the entries and clearances of vessels, there appears in the spring quarter from March 28 to June 28, 1726, twenty-three coastwise and forty-three foreign arrivals, and eighteen coastwise and forty-three foreign departures; and in the autumn quarter from August 28 to November 28, there appear twenty-four coastwise and forty-five foreign arrivals, and twenty-nine coastwise and thirty-four foreign departures. On November 22, in No. 109 of the "Gazette," it is announced: "Tomorrow morning the Eastern and Western posts set out to perform their stages once a fortnight during these Winter Months." The prices current, May 2 to May 9, were: "Flour, 12*s.* 6*d.*; Brown Bread, 13*s.* 6*d.*; Middling Bread, 15*s.*; White, 18*s.* to 19*s.*; Beef, 34*s.* per barrel; Pork, 55*s.*; Pease, 4*s.* 6*d.* per bushel." In No. 107, October 2 to 9, 1726, appear copies of an advertisement from the "London Journal": "All merchants and owners of ships and others, sufferers by Spanish seizures and captures since 11th of February last, desired to send in writing an % of ships, master's name, values to Michael Shaw at the Crown Coffe House behind the Royal Exchange." The issue for June 20 gives a graphic account of a pirate on the coast. "Sloop Rachel Hains, London to Liverpool, captured by a pyrat snow, Wm. Fox, Captain, six guns and 23 men on the 12 off Cape May captured on the 11th held to 12th, robbed and then let go, Pyrat said they would go to Block Island and wait for Rhode Island sloops and then go to Newfoundland. They also gave out that Law and Sprig were on the coast and waited to take Capt. Sterling's great ship built at New London. A sloop reported the pyrat snow in a calm of Block Island, who sent out a boat full of hands with a black flag, they came within pistol shot of the sloop, but the sloop bringing some quarter deck guns to fire upon them they made off."

In 1732, under Governor Clarke's administration, the imports from Great Britain were: "India goods, with silk manufactures chiefly; the exports, the legal enumerated articles to London and outports,

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the latter seldom; from Ireland Linen and Canvas; to Ireland Flax seed and staves—from British Colonies, Rum, Wine, Lime, Snuff, Sulphur, Strawplait, hides, Deer skins, Cochineal, Negroes, Mahogany, and Ebony. To other parts of Europe, Grain, hides, elk and deer-skins, ox-hams, Spanish snuff, Logwood, Indigo, Cocoa nuts, and foreign produce and lumber. From Europe and the English and foreign settlements in America, Salt; from Africa, Negroes, though less than formerly; from Madeira and Canary Islands, wines. From North and South parts of the Continent, Cider, oil, blubber, hops, flax seed, flax, bricks, sealskins, wrought tin, and braisery. Lastly from foreign plantations small quantities of Rum, Molasses and sugar (since the act imposing new duties thereon),[1] snuff, Spanish tobacco, Vitue, Indigo, Log-wood, and other dyeing woods, cocoa-nuts, cotton, wool, etc. To Madeira, and the Azores, Grain, beeswax and Staves. To English districts North and South of this Continent and West Indies, Provisions, Chocolate, Lumber, European goods. Lastly to the Neutral Ports, St. Thomas, Curaçoa, and Surinam, Provisions, lumber, and horses with provender. Production: The country people make their own homespun of wool and flax. From 1715 linseed raised and milled into oil, hats made of beaver fur and exported by act of Michaelmas, 1732; also lamp black from the year 1730. Sugar baking and refining for home consumption and that of the American Continent and to the West Indies by Certificates, and latterly two rum distilleries have been erected. Mines of Iron and Lead ore, the manufactory of which has been lately proposed, and also raising of hemp. Grain of all kinds. Some little tobacco."

On October 23, 1739, England wantonly declared war upon Spain, determined to open the ports of South America to her own trade and destroy the colonial system of Spain. The colonies gave in their quotas for attack on the Floridas. Governor Clarke issued his commission of reprisal on the Spaniards, June 17. Privateers took the seas on both sides, and English vessels were plundered on every sea with quite as much resolution as the colonies displayed in their ventures against Spain. In 1743 seven Spanish privateers sailed from

[1] Sugar Act of 1733, passed February 14: "I. That no sugar Panelles syrup or Molasses of the growth product or manufactures of any of the Colonies or Plantations in America; nor any rum or spirits of America, except of the growth or manufacture of his Majesty's Sugar Colonies there be imported into Ireland but from Great Britain only. II. That a duty of 4s. per hundred weight sterling money be laid on all foreign sugar and Panelles imported into any of his Majesty's Colonies or Plantations in America. III. That a duty of 6d. per gallon sterling money be laid on all foreign molasses and syrups imported into any of his Majesty's Colonies or Plantations in America. IV. That a duty of 9d. per gallon sterling money be laid on all foreign rum imported into any of his Majesty's Colonies or Plantations in America. V. That all the duties charged on the importation of all sugars and Panelles of the growth, product and manufacture of his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America into Great Britain be drawn back on exportation of the same. VI. That a drawback or allowance of 2s. per hundred weight on all sugars refined in and exported from Great Britain to be paid on the exportation thereof over and above all drawbacks or bounties now payable thereon." ("Historical Register," 1733.) Panelles was a kind of raw sugar coming from the Antilles portions of the West Indies.

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Havana to cruise on the English. France would not look on and see the Spanish colonies fall into English hands, and in March, 1744, she also declared war against England. The contest in America was but a phase of the famous struggle called the War of the Austrian Succession. England, with enough on her hands, took care not to involve herself with the Dutch, and by order of December 13, 1744, warned her captains not to make prizes of Dutch ships on pretense of their having on board Spanish effects, contrary to the intentions of the Marine Treaty. In January, 1746, a similar report to that of 1737 appears under Governor George Clinton's administration, but it gives the number of distilleries as three. In 1749 the shipping is reported at one hundred and fifty-seven registered vessels, tonnage 6406, navigated by 1228 seamen, and "latterly six distilleries." The winter was so mild in this and three following years that sloops went from New-York to Albany in January and February.

In 1748 the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle closed the War of the Austrian Succession. England realized nothing from it. The right of English subjects to navigate in the American seas without visitation, for which she had declared war, was not even mentioned in the articles. The struggle had passed from a contest for principle into a great continental contest, and in its settlement minor differences were waived. One looks in vain to find the fruits which England reaped from the long, desperate, and bloody struggle; Hume says "that they are to be found in a dreadful expense of blood and treasure, disgrace on disgrace, and the national debt accumulated to the enormous sum of eighty million pounds sterling." The New-York province entered into the contest with zeal, and its privateers were as usual numerous and active, but the histories of the period contain sparse reference to the effect of the contest on trade. Indeed, many of their authors seem not to have been aware that there ever was such a war as that of the Austrian Succession, though it shook all Europe like an earthquake, and the waters of the Atlantic must have boiled high in the general convulsion.

In 1754 the Seven Years' War began in the Ohio Valley, and it is told of Washington that near Fort Du Quesne he gave the order to fire which opened the contest. In the chapter on "Life in New-York in the Stamp Act Period," in a previous volume of this history, was shown the wonderful activity in the privateering of the New-York merchants of every class. England, with her restless ambition for domination, was in perpetual war, and the colonies had no choice but to take that part in the struggle which was best suited to their genius—that of individual effort, which has always been the characteristic of the English-American race. Smugglers seized the occasion to "run in" their wares. Governor Sir Charles Hardy, in 1757, in the very heat of the struggle, wrote the Lords of Trade that he found a Holland

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smuggling trade to Sandy Hook, thence to New-York, in tea, canvas, gunpowder, and rum, for the Indians, to be a common practice. He broke it up, but the scene of action was only shifted; it went to Connecticut. Those who remember Sir Walter Scott's description of Dirk Hatteraick in "Guy Mannering," can realize the pertinacity of a Dutchman on a smuggling errand; and in the very heat of the war also the French got the supplies, which came originally from New-York, from the neutral islands. The French were unusually enterprising by sea in this war. In the absence of the king's cruisers in the spring of 1758, a French letter-of-marque of twenty-six twelve-pounders went up to Quebec. On her return from Cape François, in Hispaniola, she stopped to cruise on the Atlantic coast and took twenty-five vessels coming to or going from New-York to Philadelphia and Virginia, among which one with the artillery and baggage of the Forty-seventh British regiment.

In 1758 Lieutenant-Governor James De Lancey being in administration, an embargo was laid on all ships and owners above fifty tons. The governor complained that "the country was drained of many able-bodied men by almost a kind of madness to go a-privateering." In 1763 Lieutenant-Governor Colden in his turn complains of the activity of the smugglers, whose trade was again broken up, at least as far as his knowledge went, by the men-of-war in the harbor. Casting about for occupation after the peace of 1763, when the privateers went out of commission and the trade was stagnant under the financial burdens of the long contest, it was found that the high price of labor made it impracticable in the colonies to interfere with the manufactures of Great Britain. It is not surprising that many found in this kindred occupation of illicit trade[1] an outlet for their energies and a more than reasonable profit.

The victory of General James Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, with the surrender of Quebec on September 13, 1759, was the decisive event of the Seven Years' War. This war, which opened at Fort Du Quesne for the possession of the Ohio Valley and a safe frontier, had ended in the control of the continent, and had doubled the debt of England, increasing it to one hundred and forty million pounds sterling, or seven

[1] Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey, January 8, 1758, to the Lords of Trade: "The persons who carry on illicit trade by importing tea and other goods from foreign ports enter into a pretended Charter Party to carry them to a Dutch or other neutral island with liberty to land at any one of the English ports on this Continent (Rhode Island in this case) where they privately land their cargoes in fraud of the laws of trade."

English Customs Rates, 1751-56 (from Postlethwaite's "Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce"):

Table of Rates of Imports.—Currants, figs, prunes, raisins, and sugar may not be imported in any other than British ships or ships of the country producing them, or of the place where they are usually first shipped; and if such goods be imported by British merchants in foreign ships they are to pay a duty as if imported by foreigners:

Per 112 lbs.	Paid on Import.	In British Vessels.	In Foreign Vessels.
Brown Muscovado	1 10 0 .. 0 4 9 ..	0 5 2 ..	0 4 1
St. Thomas Panelles	2 0 0 .. 0 7 8 ..	0 4 2 ..	0 6 2
White from British Plantations.....	5 0 0 .. 1 6 1 ..	0 17 4 ..	0 13 8

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hundred millions of dollars. The sugar-islands of the West Indies were considered to be of such importance in the economy of the western world that they were weighed in the balance, in the negotiations for peace, against the Canadas. Pitt would have held them back, but, overruled in this wish, held fast to Canada. The Earl of Bath, while he urged a solid peace, would not hear of any surrender of Canada, even though the islands were given up. To leave the French any footing in Canada would "lay the foundation of another war." Even Pitt "would not weigh the West India islands against half a hemisphere." In the same spirit of exclusive continental possession, the young king (on October 26, 1762) offered to return Havana to Spain for either the Floridas or Porto Rico. Benjamin Franklin was of the same opinion, and in a spirit truly loyal to England pleaded the advantage to the mother country of the possession of Canada over the control of the West India Islands. He estimated the increase of population in North America to be doubling their numbers every twenty-five years by natural generation only, exclusive of the accession of foreigners, who would constitute a market for manufactures of more value to Great Britain than the exclusive trade to the West India Islands. Nor was there a murmur of discontent in the colonies, which found the chief outlet for their products in the trade with the islands. Their final relief from the incessant dangers with which they were threatened on the northern frontier would have reconciled them to even greater disappointments. But they had at least a right to expect freedom from irksome exactions by the British government.

The Earl of Bath had prophesied "the infinite consequence of North America," which "by its inhabitants would consume British manufactures; by its trade employ innumerable British ships; by its provisions support the sugar-islands; by its product fit out the whole navy of England." The first small cloud which appeared on the horizon was in the form of an interdict addressed by Secretary Halifax in a circular letter to the colonial governors, forbidding trade with the French West India Islands. General Amherst, it seems, had complained that they were supplied, during the war, with provisions from America. The American merchants were encouraged by the French commercial regulations to engage in the carrying-trade of the French sugar-islands. This trade was very profitable, and protected by flags of truce granted by the colonial governors, but few of whom ever showed themselves to be above the temptation of a handsome *douceur*. Pitt supported his secretary, and indignantly condemned the practice, "not," says Bancroft, who had access to private letters on the subject, "with a view permanently to restrain the trade of the continent with the foreign islands, but only in time of war to distress the enemy by famine." As has been seen, from the very beginnings of the settle-

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ment of Manhattan, the island, with its innumerable waterways adjacent, was the abode and refuge of smugglers and forbidden trade: at first by the Dutch with their English neighbors, and later by English and Dutch settlers alike, at the expense of the British themselves.

George Grenville, whose "idol," in the words of Burke, was the colonial mercantile system, increased the customs officers and imposed upon them the enforcement of their duty under penalty of dismissal. The navy was ordered to assist in the sea-guard, and the commander-in-chief received instructions to aid with his troops in the suppression of contraband trade. Lord Colville, the naval commander on the Atlantic station, was placed at the head of a newly chosen revenue corps, and each of his captains was supplied with a set of instructions from the Admiralty, and they had power to seize persons on suspicion. The promise of emolument and an interest in the forfeitures sharpened their greed and quickened their zeal. In their intemperate haste they committed illegal acts, from the consequences of which the sufferer had no appeal but to the Privy Council — a distant, expensive, tedious, and difficult redress. Already, in 1764, Rhode Island was in conflict with Lord Colville, and one of his officers on detail, interfering with the landing of some sugars, was arrested, compelled to find bail, and his vessel only saved from the guns of a shore-battery by the interposition of the schooner man-of-war. This was notable among many similar incidents; but they lost their interest, absorbed in the whirlwind of excitement which crept over the colonies in June, when the news of the passage of the Stamp Act was received, and the text by Parliament hawked about the streets as the "Folly of England" and the "Ruin of America."

The story of the Stamp Act Congress; of the non-importation agreements of 1765; of the forcible resistance to the measure and its repeal; of the renewed offensive legislation by Parliament, and the second peaceable resistance by the second non-importation agreements, and their effects upon the trade of New-York; and, finally, the disagreements which led to the first Continental Congress, with the intervening episode of the destruction of the tea, and the return of the tea-ships, has been told at length in a special chapter on the Stamp Act period in a previous volume. It may be observed here that while the merchants of Boston were daily exasperated by the malevolent interference with their trade by their stiff-necked governor, Francis Bernard, there was from the peace of 1763 to the passage of the Stamp Act no direct interference with those of New-York by the representatives of the British crown. Sir Henry Moore was a personal favorite, and the diplomatic while pertinacious Colden, whose family ties kept him on good relations with the chief people of the province, confined his efforts in behalf of the royal prerogative to the imposition of a

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judiciary, dependent on the king's pleasure. Hence the New-York merchants took hope after the peace, and were already extending their internal and external commercial relations when the Stamp Act troubles again disturbed their progress. Their spirits revived on the repeal of this obnoxious measure, which was to a large degree their own triumph: a triumph shared by their numerous English friends in and out of Parliament, and especially the traders of Bristol, who were represented in the House of Commons by Henry Cruger, the brother of the mayor of New-York, who was the colleague for that old Whig constituency of the illustrious friend of liberty, Edmund Burke.

The success of the Non-Importation Association taught the merchants the advantages of union, one of the results of which was the institution in 1768 of the New-York Chamber of Commerce, which still exists, the oldest mercantile organization in America. Their minutes, still preserved unbroken, open with a quaint declaration of their purposes: "Whereas mercantile societies have been found very useful in tradeing cities for promoting and encouraging commerce, supporting industry, adjusting disputes relative to trade and navigation, and procuring such laws and regulations as may be found necessary for the benefit of trade in general; for which purpose, and to establish such a society in the City of New-York, the following persons convened on the first Tuesday in, and being the 5th day of, April, 1768:

John Cruger,	William Walton,	Achison Thompson,
Elias Desbrosses,	Samuel Verplanck,	Lawrence Kortright,
James Taunay,	Theophylact Bache,	Thomas Randal,
Jacob Walton,	Thomas White,	William McAdam,
Robert Murray,	Miles Sherbrooke,	Isaac Low,
Hugh Wallace,	Walter Franklin,	Anthony Van Dam;
George Folliost,	Robert Ross Waddle,	

who agreed that the said society of merchants should consist of a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary, and such a number of merchants as already or hereafter may become members, to be called and known by the name of 'The New-York Chamber of Commerce.'"[1]

[1] Later appears this record: "The following gentlemen who are of the society not being present assented to the same:

John Alsop,	Philip Livingston,
Henry White,	James McEvers."

They chose as officers for the first year: John Cruger, president; Hugh Wallace, vice-president; Elias Desbrosses, treasurer; Anthony Van Dam, secretary. Without any definite regulation thereto it seems to have been from the beginning understood that there should be also a yearly advancement of the officers, the president going out, and those below him successively taking the places of those above them. The secretary alone remained in permanence.

	President.	*Vice-President.*
1768	John Cruger,	Hugh Wallace.
1770	Hugh Wallace,	Henry White.
1771	Elias Desbrosses,	Theophylact Bache.
1772	Henry White,	William Walton.
1773	Theophylact Bache,	Isaac Low.
1774	William Walton,	John Alsop.
1775	Isaac Low,	William McAdam.
	Interregnum.	
1779	Isaac Low,	Hugh Wallace.
	"	Thomas Buchanan.
	"	Jacob Walton.
	"	Gerald Walton.
	"	William Walton.

Thomas Buchanan elected, but refused to serve.

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They organized at Bolton & Sigell's tavern (Fraunces' Queen's Head), but removed to the Long Room over the Royal Exchange in 1770, which they hired and occupied till 1775. From 1779 to 1783 and later they met in the upper Long Room of the Merchants' Coffee-House.

The best idea of the nature and movement of the commerce of New-York at this interesting period is to be had from following the record of the proceedings of this representative body—representative of the social as well as of the commercial character of the population. Their names show the cosmopolitan nature of the inhabitants of New-York—a distinctive characteristic trait of the city from its early beginnings, and one in which no American city has ever resembled it until San Francisco sprang into life on the Pacific, in 1849, like Minerva from the head of Jove, mature at birth. Verplanck and Van Dam were New-York born, but of Dutch origin; Desbrosses represented the French Huguenot element; Cruger, Walton, Alsop, and Low were of English descent; Bache was English, born in Yorkshire; Livingston was of Scotch lineage; the Wallaces and Sherbrooks were of Irish stock, probably Irish born. They were a courtly company, as their portraits show, richly dressed, without undue extravagance; and, while cheerful or jovial over their ale, or punch, and their pipes, which were the customary accompaniment of their sage meditations at their evening sessions over the needs of trade, they were dignified and sedate. The delicate refinement in the features of Cruger, and the warm rubicund tints which Copley has painted on the cheeks of White, who was noted for the excellence of his cellars, show that good breeding and good living were alike cultivated in the fine arts of social life by our worthy forefathers of the New-York province.

John Moore [1]

The very first business which engaged the attention of the chamber was the condition of the currency: whether they should discourage the paper currency of Pennsylvania from passing in the New-York province; and especially the rates at which the New Jersey currency

[1] John Moore was deputy collector and receiver-general of his majesty's customs in New-York while occupied by the British forces during the Revolution, and for ten years previous. He was a favorite in society, a writer of pleasant satires on the men and women of the city, gay and convivial. Some of his writings yet survive in manuscript, and throw light on the manners of the time. His son, Thomas W. C. Moore, shared his father's love for literature, wrote society verses, and was an intimate friend of Fitz-Greene Halleck, as their fathers had been before them. The son's portrait appears in the picture of the interior of the Park Theater, in Volume III. EDITOR.

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should pass among themselves in their own transactions; from which it would seem that their practice among themselves was the custom of the port.

The condition of the currency of the middle provinces is worthy of consideration. Governor Moore, in a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated at Fort George, May 14, 1768, writes: "After the first day of November next there will be none of the Bills formerly issued current; the Lyon Dollars (a species of money brought here by the first Dutch settlers) are rarely now seen. These and Bills of credit issued before the Statute (passed December 16, 1737), are the only two kinds of money that ever were made a tender in this colony. After the first day of November therefore we shall have nothing to make a tender with." In the same letter he says: "The Colony had always kept up the Credit of their paper Currency and taken particular care it should not be depreciated." In this condition of affairs some agreement was absolutely necessary among the merchants both as to the rates of paper and the respective value of the motley coinage of the day. The old legal-tender notes had been gradually absorbed by the sinking fund obtained from the excise on strong liquors, and in their place a large amount of paper currency had been issued to meet the exigencies of the French war. In 1767 the rates for sterling exchange, the only basis for comparison, had risen in New-York to 175, in Pennsylvania to 165.

The Assembly in 1764 had petitioned the House of Commons against the passage of a pending bill prohibiting the declaration of any future bills of credit in the colonies to be a legal burden, and forbidding the continuance of those existing beyond their prescribed period. Parliament disregarded this petition, and as a consequence the New-York province was overrun with the paper currency of the neighboring colonies. The question in July, 1768, was whether the society would receive New Jersey money at the advance over its face rate which it commanded in the open market. There was the same trouble about the Pennsylvania currency. The next year, 1769, it was determined to take the Pennsylvania bills at six, two, and three per cent. advance, that being the difference in the values of the legal-tender money of that province and the non-legal tender of New-York. The question of the New Jersey currency was a difficult question to manage. Postponed from year to year, it came to an issue in 1771, when it was resolved that it should not be received for more than it passed for at the New Jersey treasury. This occasioned so much inconvenience that a number of members gave in their resignations rather than comply. A proposal was at this time made to establish "a paper currency in the city," but it was never seriously considered. The necessities became so urgent, however, that in January, 1771, Lieutenant-

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Governor Colden assented to a bill for emitting one hundred and twenty thousand pounds in bills of credit, but he informed Secretary Hillsborough that "the making of them a tender is carefully avoided except at the Loan Offices and Treasury"; and the bill was sanctioned by Parliament the same year. In 1774 the resigned members were notified that the chamber was "at Liberty to receive and pay Jersey money as formerly, notwithstanding they conceive the evil tendency of receiving it for more than its real value in their Treasury, which does in the event depreciate our own Currency." As late, however, as 1780 the almanacs continued to give tables of rates of Pennsylvania and New Jersey money reduced to New-York currency.

The condition of the coinage current in the colonies demanded equal consideration, and an elaborate report was made by a committee composed of the most intelligent merchants of the city—Messrs. William Walton, Samuel Verplanck, Hamilton Young, Robert Murray, and John H. Cruger.[1]

The rates of the report were on the paper currency as it stood, and on the basis of the English guinea, weighing five pennyweights four grains, and valued at one pound seventeen shillings. For every grain less than the weights of the report it was recommended that four pence be deducted. Still another and more serious annoyance came from the clipping and washing of coins. As the lion dollar brought in by the Dutch was the only legal tender of coin in the province, the Assembly was powerless. Hence the rate established by the chamber soon became the custom in trade. It may be here added that the value of the lion dollar was fixed in 1720 at "seventeen pennyweights for fifteen pennyweights of Sevil pillar in Mexican plate." Soon after it was a scarce coin.

The lumber of the province having fallen into disrepute in foreign markets and below that exported from Philadelphia, from want of care in dressing and regularity in dimension, the corporation, at the instance of the chamber, amended its legislation to conform to their report, and inspectors were named to enforce it. The mayor, on receiving the petition, asked the opinions of the chamber upon one presented by the public packers of beef and pork with regard to the

[1] The coins named in the report are the johannes, a Portuguese gold coin of the value of eight dollars, contracted often into "joe" and "half-joe." It bore the figure of King John, and is the coin Defoe in his fictions constantly alludes to as "pieces of eight." Moidore, a Portuguese gold coin also, in value 27*s.*; Caroline, a German coin, often called "German Caroline," valued at £1 18*s.*; doubloon, a Spanish and Portuguese gold coin, the value of two pistoles; guinea, an English gold coin, current at £1 1*s.* There were also a French guinea, probably a French coinage of African gold, but this is uncertain; chequeen or sequin, an Italian gold coin, worth about 7*s.* 6*d.*; crown, silver, English, of 5*s.* value; a French crown, valued at 4*s.* 6*d.*; shilling, English, silver coin, worth 12*d.*, of which twenty to the pound sterling; pistareen, a silver coin, value of 9*d.* sterling, or 17 to 18 cents. These are all values on a specie basis. Pistole, a Spanish gold piece, worth 17*s.* sterling. The French pistole, or louis d'or, was settled at the same value.

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sale and preparation of this produce. Among the names of these petitioners are those of Richard Kip, Peter Stoutenberg, Daniel and James Dunscombe, and John Post, all well known in our day.[1]

The whale-fishing provided for by an act of the Assembly, 1708, which it seems was a profession of the Manhattan Indians, had been long neglected. In 1768 Robert Murray and the brothers Franklin fitted out a sloop which put to sea in April of that year. The Assembly released all vessels engaged in whaling from tonnage dues in 1772. In 1774, on motion of Henry Remsen, the chamber took up the subject, and subscriptions were opened for the United Whaling Company in June. The stock was quickly subscribed, and the company organized in May, and the first vessel sailed the next week.[2]

In July, 1776, the company advertised that all accounts be sent in, and no doubt closed up their business. They will appear again in the sequel. A plan of fire-insurance was suggested by John Thurman in 1770, and repeatedly brought up before and during the Revolution, but without result. Lieutenant-Governor Colden granted the chamber a charter in 1770, and a seal was ordered. Made of silver, it bore a suggestive coat of arms and a legend, the Latin device "*Non Nobis Nati Solum.*" Carried abroad by the secretary, Van Dam, it was recovered from its ignominious position in a print-shop in London, brought home by an American gentleman, and restored to the chamber, where it is now in daily use. The lawyers endeavored to get a footing in the institution, but, on the motion of Mr. Verplanck, the members ruled them out by resolution, which has been constantly adhered to, fortunately for the chamber.

Flour continued to be the main article of export, and every means was taken to improve its manufacture. French burstones were brought into use for grinding, and German screens for cleaning the wheat, and the merchants took pains that the inspectors should keep them informed as to the quality of the various brands; and, at the request of the chamber, the Assembly, in 1771, ordered the branding of the manufacturer's name on the cask. The tonnage, weight, and measurement were also matters of study and recommendation to parties interested by newspaper publication. In 1774 the chamber subscribed for twelve sets of Barnard Roman's maps of East and West Florida.[3] Mr. Roman received one hundred and eight dollars for the

[1] In 1771 the population of New-York was estimated at 21,863. Governor William Tryon, in 1772, reported to the Board of Trade a comparison of the shipping of that year with that of 1762, as follows: 1762, there were 477 vessels, of 17,514 tons, with 3552 men; 1772, there were 709 vessels of 29,183 tons, with 3574 men.

[2] The next year the following officers were chosen: Philip Livingston, as president; Charles McEvers, treasurer; Captains William Hayes, Patrick Dennison, John Barton; and Messrs. Stoutenberg, Anthony Van Dam, and Joseph Allicocke (secretary) were a committee for "purchase of vessels and sale of oils."

[3] A work which is something more than a topographical survey, and gives an account of the southern parts of the English dominions in America. Its title was "A Concise History of East and West Florida," etc. New-York, 2 vols., 12mo, 1775.

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twelve sets, whence it is probable that they were detached from his printed account and intended for the use of navigation. In the year 1773 the Assembly of New-York granted the sum of two hundred pounds per annum for five years, to be paid to the treasurer of the Chamber of Commerce, "for the encouragement of Fishery on this coast for the better supplying the Markets of this City with Fish." The chamber accepted the trust and advertised the premiums.[1]

It has elsewhere been stated that a chief business of the good citizens of New-York was eating and drinking. This and their hospitality they derived, the one from their English, and the other from their Dutch, progenitors and predecessors. The newspapers are full of accounts of such entertainments. The chamber had its anniversary banquet every May, and all the dignitaries of the royal government and the Assembly of the province, the city government and the distinguished officers of the army and navy, were present at the festive board. And when the eastern delegates to the first Continental Congress passed through the city in the summer of 1774, they were entertained in high festivity in the room of the chamber. Of this dinner John Adams says in his diary: "We dined in the Exchange Chambers with more than fifty gentlemen, at the most splendid dinner I ever saw: a profusion of fine dishes." Adams probably knew very little about good dinners, which, on account of the meager supply of the Boston market until quite recently, could with difficulty be served at any cost; but then a word of praise from him was quite as rare as a good New England dinner. In the absence of letters of the period, or at least in the rarity of printed correspondence of a personal or private nature (though no doubt much of such matter exists which will yet see the light), we are left for details to the study of the files of newspapers of this period, fortunately quite full, preserved in the valuable collection of the New-York Historical Society. The "Roll of Freemen," from 1760 to 1775, supplies but few names of merchants in addition to those on the roll of members of the Chamber of Commerce. Of those familiar at the present day are James Abeel, Gerard Nicholles, William de Peyster, Jr., Nicholas Cruger (the friend of Washington), James Sachet, Moses Judah, Richard Ray, Adolph Philipse, Samuel T. Judah, James Steward, and Barent Cuyler.

In this "trading city," where, as in Venice in the middle ages, the

[1] The premium "of Forty pounds to the owners and Crew of any one boat or vessel who shall supply this market with the greatest quantity of Fish, Skate and Ray excepted, taken with a Trout net from the first of May next to this May, 1774." Of thirty pounds for the takers of the next greatest quantity. Of thirty pounds for the greatest supply of live codfish from first day of November following the first day of May, 1774; of twenty pounds for the next greatest. Of twenty pounds for live sheepshead, from May to May, and of fifteen pounds for the next greatest; of ten pounds for the greatest supply of fresh mackerel, from May to May; and of two pounds for next greatest supply. The committee appointed to award the premiums for the year ending May, 1774, met at the house of Thomas Doran, in the New Dock, and that for the next year at Mrs. Brooks's, a tea-house opposite the Battery, in June, 1775.

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great merchants were held in highest honor, where every considerable fortune and every considerable family with hardly an exception had its origin in the walks of trade, John Cruger was without contest the central figure. From the beginning to the close of the eighteenth century, in an unbroken line, some of this patronymic held high office in the State as well as the first rank among their fellow-merchants. John Cruger, the father of the first president of the Chamber of Commerce, was alderman of the Dock Ward (now the First Ward) for twenty-two years (1712–1733). Appointed mayor in 1739, he remained in office till his death in 1744. By his wife, Maria Cuyler, he had two sons, of whom the second was John Cruger. He in turn was alderman of the Dock Ward in 1754 and 1755, and was raised to the dignity of mayor in 1756. In his first term of office we have seen him protesting against Lord Loudoun's quartering of troops in the city. In 1759 he was elected to the General Assembly, and reëlected in February, 1761. He was member of the Long Assembly, as it was called, which, from 1761 to 1768, led the province in its opposition to British oppression and marshaled the colonies in their successful resistance to the Stamp Act. Cruger was a member of that earliest of Committees of Correspondence which were the forerunners of American union. It was he who, as mayor of the city, received the stamps at the gate of Fort George. Reëlected to the Assembly in 1769, he was the Speaker of the body till 1775; thus representing the city in the Assembly for sixteen years. He withdrew from the city to Kinderhook in 1776, and remained there till the close of the war. He died at the house of his nephew, Nicholas Cruger, in 1791, at the ripe old age of eighty-two, universally respected and beloved. He never married. The Crugers were large ship-owners, and owned an extensive dock which, known by their name, appears in all the histories of the time. Cruger's wharf was on the east side of Whitehall Slip. Here they had their place of business. The fire broke out here in 1776, and destroyed six of their warehouses. The chief trade of the house was with Bristol, to which they ran several vessels, where John's brother Henry resided, a member of Parliament and later mayor of that city. They were also heavily engaged in the West India trade, where a second brother, Harris, was established. John Harris Cruger (son of Harris), the distinguished loyalist officer and gallant defender of Post Ninety-six, was born at Jamaica. He married Anne De Lancey, daughter of Oliver, and was engaged in trade with Bristol under his own name, his office being near the Exchange. Nicholas Cruger was established at St. Eustatius, one of the West India Islands. It was under his patronage that the illustrious Hamilton came to New-York for his education.

The family of Livingston was as distinguished in commerce as in public life. Philip Livingston was the son of Philip, second lord of

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the manor of Livingston, and Catharine Van Brugh. In the French war he was extensively engaged in privateering. He made a large fortune in the general importing business, having his store in the new dock, Burnet's quay, as it was called, near the ferry stairs at the foot of Wall street. He and his nephew, Robert Cambridge, had fine mansions on the heights of Brooklyn, or Brookland, as it was then styled. The site was on the bluffs opposite the New-York Battery. Near by were their distilleries. Philip was alderman of the East Ward of New-York from 1754 to 1762, and member of the Assembly from 1759 to 1769. During his last term he was Speaker of the House. He was a member of the first and of the second Continental Congress in 1774 and 1775, and signed the Declaration of Independence. He died in Yorktown, Pennsylvania, in 1778, while still a representative. Robert Cambridge Livingston, who took his middle name as a distinctive title from his having been graduated from the University of Cambridge, England, was son of Robert, the third lord, and Gertrude Schuyler. His only connection with trade was his interest in the distillery. Robert Gilbert Livingston, Jr., was in the dry-goods trade in Dock (Pearl) street, near the Coffee-House. The triangle of buildings from the Wall-street angle of Pearl and Water streets westward was then open ground and called Hanover Square. There was nothing between Livingston's store and the Merchants' Coffee-House (the site of the "Journal of Commerce" building), as his advertisement shows.

But the most historic family of merchants was that of Walton, whose wealth was cited in Parliament to show the prosperity of the province. The founder of the family was William Walton, a patronymic which was also carried through the full century. Early in the eighteenth century he purchased ground on the East River water-front, and there established extensive shipyards, the constructions at which, both for England and the province, were numerous as well as famous for design and speed. He sailed his own vessels to the West Indies and the Spanish main. The origin of the great fortune of this enterprising family was an extensive preference granted to Captain Walton (or Boss Walton, as he was familiarly called, because of his superintendence of the shipyards) by the Spaniards of St. Augustine, Fla., and the West India Islands. He had the contract to supply the garrison, and had a permanent factor at the Florida post. The William Walton of the period under review was his son, and enjoyed the same preferences. He sailed his father's ships as captain to Curaçoa and the neighboring ports. Later, with his older brother, Jacob, under the firm name of Jacob and William Walton, he continued his father's business, and on the death of Jacob associated with himself his brother's children, under the firm name of William Walton & Co. In the French war he ran his vessels as privateers. He was elected

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member of the Assembly in 1751, and again in 1752, serving till 1759. Here he attached himself to the party of James De Lancey, whose daughter his nephew and namesake, William Walton, Jr., married in 1757. In 1758 he was appointed one of his majesty's council, a position which he held until his death in 1768. His wife was Cornelia, daughter of Dr. William Beekman, who survived him, having borne him no children. His nephew William occupied with him his celebrated residence, the fine building (already described in a previous chapter) on St. George's Square, later called Franklin Square. Jacob, the younger William's brother (they were sons of Jacob Walton and Maria Beekman), who was interested in his business affairs, married Polly, daughter of Henry Cruger. In 1769 he was elected to the General Assembly. Another brother, Abraham, married the widow of Henry Rutgers. Another, Gerard, was also interested in the family business; still a third, Thomas, was a leading member of the Non-Importation Association. The Waltons were the heaviest underwriters of the day. William Walton's "Book of Insurance" is still in existence. It shows the magnitude and variety of their risks. An accomplished sister, Mary, was married to Colonel Lewis Morris; another, Magdalene, to David Johnston.

The Ludlows were also a great merchant family. Daniel Ludlow was the son of Gabriel Ludlow and Elizabeth Crommelin. Like his father and grandfather, he devoted himself to trade. His early mercantile training was had at Amsterdam, in the counting-house of his kinsmen, the great bankers, Daniel Crommelin & Son. He was in partnership with Edward Goold in the general importing business. Their store was in Wall street. His country-seat was at Baretto's Point, on the East River, from which, probably because of the badness of the roads, it was his habit to drive to the city four-in-hand during the summer season. He married Arabella, daughter of Thomas Duncan. Gabriel H. Ludlow was engaged with Nicholas Hoffman in the auctioneering business, the firm name being Ludlow & Hoffman; and later with a Mr. Shaw in the importation of wines (the house being Ludlow & Shaw). He married Ann Williams, and resided in Wall street. His place of business was in Smith (now William) street. George W. Ludlow was one of the earliest members of the Chamber of Commerce. The brothers Alsop were among the wealthiest merchants of the day. John was delegate to the first and the second Continental Congress. Richard was brought up in the counting-house of Philip Livingston, the signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Of the mass of information collected concerning the trade of New-York at this interesting period, these extracts suffice. They show the relations the great families of the city occupied toward it. With the exception of that of Morris, of Morrisania, every family in New-York

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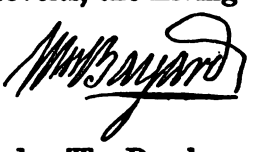
was engaged in commerce or industry of some kind. The Bayards were sugar-refiners, the "mystery" of which they introduced into New-York. So were the Van Cortlandts, the Roosevelts, the Livingstons, and the Cuylers. The sugar-house of the last named was purchased under forfeiture by the Rhinelanders, who had before been importers of crockery at Burling Slip. The Schuylers were engaged in the importation of European and India goods. The Barclays, Rutgers, and Lispenards were brewers, all connected with the great London brewing-house of Barclay. Sugar-refining and brewing were the foundation of many a New-York fortune. So was distilling. The Verplancks, Whites, Baches, Murrays, and Franklins were shipping merchants and general traders, importing from every port permitted by the navigation laws, and some that were not. The Buchanans, Clarksons, Beekmans, Setons, and Van Zandts were importers or dealers in dry goods; the Brevoorts, Goelets, and Laights were ironmongers, as dealers in hardware and cutlery were termed. The Gouverneurs traded with the West Indies and the Spanish main, and had large stores on Hunter's Quay, near the Coffee-House, and later owned Gouverneur's wharf on the East River. The Kembles were auctioneers. The Keteltas family had warehouses, and Peter was engaged in the old insurance office with Richard Sharpe. The Schermerhorns were in the coasting-trade, and were ship-chandlers besides; the De Peysters (Gerard and Nicholas) appear as merchants in the Freemen's List of 1765; and between 1760 and 1776 here are found also the well-known names of Abeel, Bancker, Sachet, Tudat, Nichol, Ray, Watts, and Van Wyck. Even Mary, the wife of the great lawyer James Alexander, kinsman of the Earl of Stirling, eked out the support of her family by keeping a petty store. There was good stock in this commercial gentry, honorable blood of England and Scotland, of Ireland and Wales, of France and Holland, and the well-bred Jewish sons of Portugal. Since the days of the Venetian republic trade was never held in higher honor than in the cosmopolitan "trading city" of New-York.[1]



[1] IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES FROM AND TO GREAT BRITAIN, 1700–1780. (FROM LORD SHEFFIELD'S OBSERVATIONS.)

Average.	*Imports.*		*Exports.*	*Average.*
1700–1710.....	£267,205 3s. 4d.	..	£365,000 0s. 10d.	1700–1710
1710–1720.....	365,645 7 11¾	..	392,653 17 1½	1710–1720
1720–1730.....	471,342 12 10½	..	578,830 16 6	1720–1730
1730–1740.....	660,136 11 1½	..	670,128 16 0½	1730–1740
1740–1750.....	812,647 13 0¼	..	708,943 9 6½	1740–1750
1750–1760.....	1,577,419 16 2¼	..	802,891 6 10	1750–1760
1760–1770.....	1,763,409 16 3	..	1,044,891 17 0	1760–1770
1770–1780.....	1,351,206 1 5	..	745,560 10 9	1770–1780

Note the falling off caused by the Non-Importation Agreement.

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Immediately upon the news of the affray at Lexington, the citizens of New-York rose *en masse*, and on May 5, 1775, appointed a committee of safety to take charge of the government, and business was at once suspended. In June, at the request of the provincial congress, General Wooster, who was encamped at Harlem, took command of the city. After the battle of Long Island, in September, the British leader, Lord Howe, resumed authority, which was maintained without interruption till the close of the war. Many of the citizens left New-York with the American troops, and in their turn numbers of refugees from Boston and other places within the American lines came into New-York for protection, and established themselves here. The fatal fire of 1776, which consumed a large part of the city, caused also a derangement of trade from which it did not recover for many years. A second calamity of the same nature visited the city in 1778.

As in Boston, in Philadelphia, and in Charleston, there was division in every class of society, and in every rank and profession of life. The mercantile community was no exception. Among the merchants belonging to representative families who left the city at the outset or immediately after the beginning of hostilities, were John Alsop, Gerard Walton, James Beekman, Levinus Clarkson, John Cruger, Gerardus Duyckinck, Herman and Nicholas Gouverneur, Nicholas Hoffman, Peter Keteltas, Francis Lewis, Philip, Robert Cambridge, and Robert Gilbert Livingston, Jr., Daniel Phœnix, Thomas Randall, Henry Remsen, Jr., Isaac Roosevelt, John Schuyler, Isaac Sears, Augustus Van Zandt. Among those who were neutral in their conduct, if not in their opinions, remaining in the city during the occupation, and being distinguished for their kindness and hospitality to such of the patriots as became prisoners of war, were Thomas and William Buchanan, Walter Franklin, Edward and William Laight, Leonard Lispenard, John and Robert Murray, William Watson, Theophylact Bache, Elias Desbrosses, and Augustus Van Horne. Many of these were British born, and it could not have been expected of them that they should take up arms against their own countrymen; many of them were well advanced in years: sufficient answer to the worn-out charge against New-York of the want of patriotism during the period of the Revolution.

The records of the Chamber of Commerce show how trade had declined since the disturbances of 1770. In the four years from May, 1771, to May, 1775, there were but nine admissions to that body. The war brought in a new order of things. After the arrival of Lord Howe and the transfer of the general headquarters of the British army, which had been at Boston, New-York became the great depot of supplies. Governor Tryon, in his proclamation of March 8, 1779, said: "The city of New-York is become an immense magazine of all kinds

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of supplies for a very extensive commerce." On September 26, 1778, preceding, the king's commissioners to treat with America (the Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden) issued a proclamation in which they announced their desire "to give immediate relief and security to the trade carried on by his Majesty's loyal subjects to the port of New-York. They therefore suspend so much of the Acts of Parliament of 1776 as prevents the exportation of goods formerly allowed to be shipped from this port to Great Britain, Ireland, New Foundland, Halifax, Rhode Island, East and West Indies, the articles of stores and provisions, naval and military stores excepted." They also gave license and warrants to the captains of vessels making prizes to "send all such captures to the ports of New-York, and Newport in Rhode Island," and authorized that the captures "may be exported into and landed at Great Britain or any other part of his Majesty's Dominions," upon payment of the usual duties.

Prompted by this proclamation, it appears twenty-three of the members of the chamber, Isaac Low in the chair (elected president at the May meeting, 1775, since which there had been no sessions), came together in special meeting on June 21, 1779.[1] The record begins with the declaration: "The state of public affairs having been such as not to require a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce at an earlier period, no measures were taken for that purpose until it was conceived that the increase of commerce, in consequence of the latitude it derived from the commissioners' benevolent proclamation, rendered a revival of so useful an institution absolutely necessary. At the request, therefore, of a number of members the President issued notices for convening as many of them as are now in New-York and its vicinity, and the following members appeared in the upper long room at the Coffy House."[2]

Their first business was to draft and sign a letter to Daniel Jones, the British commandant of New-York, advising him of their purpose, and declaring their encouragement as well from the commissioners' proclamation as from "the Success of Private Ships of War." This deserves notice. Governor Tryon, in a proclamation dated March 6, 1779, says: "I have already issued one hundred and twenty-one commissions to as many private vessels of war; that in the short space of time elapsed since the 18th of September last the prize vessels arrived here amount to above Six hundred Thousand pounds lawful money of

[1] Members present: Isaac Low, president; William McAdam, vice-president; Anthony Van Dam, secretary; William Walton, Isaac Corsa, Robert Murray, John Moore, William Seton, Thomas Miller, Edward Laight, Hugh Wallace, Henry White, Benjamin Booth, Alexander Wallace, Robert R. Waddel, William Laight, Thomas Buchanan, Gabriel H. Ludlow, William Stipple, Richard Yates, Gerard Walton, Augustus Van Horne, Lawrence Kortright.

Mrs. Smith had charge of the Long Room of the Merchants' Coffee-House, which was hired by the chamber from her at the rate of fifty pounds per annum, from 1779 to 1781, when she was succeeded by John Strahan, from the Queen's Head Tavern. This was Sam Fraunces' old sign.

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New-York at the ancient currency of eight shillings a milled dollar." This statement was confirmed by the publication a few days later, in Gaine's "New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury" (March 22, 1779), of "a list of vessels commissioned as Letter of Marque from the Port of New-York since the 8th September, 1778 (121 in number), and of their prizes (165 in number)." The lieutenant-general commanding, Daniel Jones, expressed his satisfaction at the revival of the chamber, and his regret that he had not sooner had their advice in the government of the city. In the next month (July 12), Andrew Elliott, the superintendent-general, asked their opinion on various questions of public interest: the cleansing of the streets, the regulation of hospitals and barracks, the prevention of fires, the prices of butcher's meat. He desired them also to propose a plan "that might combine the safety of the Public together with the conveniencys of Trade"; to all which they returned an elaborate reply. Thereafter they appear to have essentially directed all city matters, the commandant issuing his proclamations at their instance.

In April, 1780, General James Robertson, who had been commissioned governor of New-York in May, 1779, and was recently sworn into office, addressed a letter to the chamber relative to the encouragement thought necessary to be given to privateers and other mercantile concerns. In the early days of the war the British government had shown great unwillingness to encourage private ships of war. Lord Howe had set his face against them, and was severely attacked by the London press for exerting his influence to prevent the issuing of commissions. The audacity of the patriot privateers finally induced the Admiralty to send out, in April, 1777, authority for such issue; but Lord Howe still intervened. It was charged against him that he was afraid of losing the seamen of his fleet by desertion to the more attractive service. A letter printed in 1779 says that since his resignation the rebel navy had been in great measure destroyed by the small British fleet remaining in America, and the privateers sent out from New-York; that it was reduced from thirty vessels to eight; and the number of privateers fitted out in New England, from upward of one hundred to less than forty. "The prices of all foreign necessaries and articles of Commerce are raised more than 200 per cent. exclusive of the depreciations of their money; and so great is the risk of their trade that no insurance can be procured in America." These representations had their effect in England. To the letter of General Robertson, the chamber replied by the usual letter of congratulation on his taking possession of his government, to which he graciously responded that "respect for the body of Merchants will not only make me attentive to their advice but receive it with gratitude, as their lights will prevent me from mistakeing the true interests of trade."

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The privateering tide did not always set in the same direction, but had its ebbs and flows, and soon turned in favor of the Americans.

The Chamber of Commerce was no longer the same in composition as before the war. Twenty-seven new members had been taken in on the revival of 1779, all of whom were active loyalists; and to these seventeen were added before the close of the war, making the total number forty-four, exclusive of the old members (those that remained in the city); their attendance was regular for the three years 1779–81. The president, Isaac Low, was now as active in the support of the crown as he had been zealous for the non-importation agreements and the first Continental Congress, and there is no doubt he rendered effective service. In March, 1781, a conflict of opinion arose between the importers of a cargo of wine from Madeira, and Andrew Elliott, now collector of customs at the port, in reference to the duties which that officer demanded. The chamber addressed a memorial to the commander-in-chief. This document is interesting for its recital of the condition of the trade of the port and the difficulties under which it was carried on. It protested against the laying of duties on wines: exportation to England being prohibited, the only demand was for the use of the garrison. The same difficulty was experienced in the trade with the West Indies. The importation of sugar, molasses, and coffee greatly increased because of the necessities of the garrison, which at this time amounted to about fifteen thousand men, greatly outnumbering the rest of the population of the city, of which there is no definite record, but which could not have exceeded ten thousand souls. This difficulty arose from what the memorial terms the "Circumscribed Situation of New-York," which cut the merchants off from the supplies of country produce, forming the staple of export to the West Indies. Washington had his headquarters at this time at New Windsor, the Pennsylvania line was at Morristown, the New Jersey regiments at Pompton, and the New England troops in the Highlands. General Heath commanded at West Point, and the militia of Ulster, Orange, and Duchess counties were on the alert to cut off all communications or trade with the city. The merchants of New-York felt that they had cause of complaint of unfair discrimination. Georgia, after the fall of Charleston, had been restored to trade. The civil government had been there established, but so also Robertson had been duly installed governor of New-York. The Chamber of Commerce proposed a new charter for the city, Robertson having expressed his willingness to confirm it. But events were soon to take an unexpected turn, and no more was heard of this proposition.

It has been shown that the export supplies from the interior were wholly cut off; and now, early in the spring of 1781, the city was dependent for its import supplies of sugar and coffee upon captures;

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while for their food, except that which they received from Long Island, their sole dependence was on the great fleets which, under convoy of British frigates, arrived with such regularity as the New England privateers permitted. As spring opened, the American privateers, which had lain quiet during the winter, renewed their cruises, and with little interference, as, in the presence of the French fleet at Newport, Arbuthnot did not dare to separate his fleet. This, though but little noticed, was one of the inestimable services rendered by the French allies in the decisive year 1781. Already, in April, news was brought into New-York that the schooner Eagle, a South Carolina privateer, was hanging off the coast; and that several stout privateers were fitting out in the eastern ports, intended to intercept the fleet from England bound to Quebec, as they had done before.

The inconvenience to the city became so serious that the Chamber of Commerce addressed a representation to Admiral Arbuthnot upon the trade and commerce of the city. They state that "the best cruising ground for the enemy perhaps in the world is within a small distance from Sandy Hook"; that "more property has constantly been captured by their privateers within fifty leagues of that place than perhaps upon all the rest of the Atlantic Ocean"; that so "many stout Privateers are fitting out in the different rebel ports to infest our coast, that unless effectual measures be taken to defeat and blast their designs, very few, except vessels of great force, will either get safe in or out of this port."

The state of affairs at the beginning of October, 1781, was by no means encouraging to the British cause. The shadows of defeat were falling thick and fast. Lord Cornwallis was beleaguered on the Yorktown peninsula by Generals Washington and Rochambeau. He sent repeated messages to Sir Henry Clinton. One chief difficulty in the way of relief lay in the troubles under which the British labored from the cruel treatment of men on board their vessels. Thus, while there were always privateersmen enough in New-York to man the vessels commanded by their own townsmen, they could not be brought to enlist in the king's service. When Arbuthnot lay at Governor's Island in the spring, watching the French fleet, which was in readiness to sail, he was unable to get to sea for want of hands to relieve the fourteen hundred sick and scorbutic seamen he had landed. Other measures failing, what was called a "hot press" was ordered. On the admiral's requisition, by the consent of the commander-in-chief, all sailors in New-York were pressed for the fleet. This had checked privateering at New-York, and at the same time had driven many sailors to the rebel ships of war. Arbuthnot had promised to discharge all the men impressed, and not to renew the measure, as soon as an important blow was struck, but it is doubtful whether he ful-

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filled his promise in the extraordinary emergencies of that decisive campaign. In these straits on October 4 Governor Robertson appealed to the Chamber of Commerce to come to the aid of the admiral in "this particular season of events," and they the same day unanimously agreed to raise among themselves the sum of four hundred guineas, to be paid in bounty to the seamen that should enter as volunteers. Civil authority was also now revived and interference in mercantile differences abandoned by the superintendent. Military rule had few advocates even in Great Britain, and was extremely distasteful to the loyal citizens in America.

In accordance with the resolve of the chamber, Isaac Low, the president, issued a proclamation announcing that in common with other loyal inhabitants they would add a bounty of three guineas to each volunteer for the naval service, "with plenty of honest grog to cheer their hearts and drink the king's health and success to his arms.

> "Hearts of oak are our ships,
> Hearts of oak are our men.
> We always are ready, steady, boys, steady,
> We 'll fight and we 'll conquer again and again.

This noble chorus again echoed with propriety will make the heart of the young prince leap for joy and glory in the profession of a sailor." Prince William Henry, afterward William the Fourth, third son of George the Third, had arrived at Sandy Hook on the ship Prince George, commanded by Admiral Digby, on September 25, 1781. All haste was made. Seven thousand of the best troops were put on board transports, and Clinton, taking the command in person of the armament, which was convoyed by twenty-five sail of the line under the command of Admiral Graves, sailed from Sandy Hook on October 19, and arrived off Cape Charles on the 24th. Clinton had the mortification to learn that Lord Cornwallis had capitulated on the very day of his sailing.

The dependence of the city for food upon supplies from England, and the irregular prices consequent, appear from the request of the military authorities, on the arrival of the provision fleet in January, 1782, to the chamber, to fix a price for flour, formerly the chief staple of export to the city. The price of the loaf was now reduced from sixteen to fourteen coppers, and the weight increased from two pounds to two pounds and one quarter. The first price was based on the price of seventy shillings per hundredweight.

Admiral Digby left England with the appointment to take chief command on the American station, but finding on his arrival Admiral Graves engaged in the effort to relieve Cornwallis, generously waived his rank. On the return of Graves's squadron to New-York, Digby

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hoisted his pennant as admiral in command. Alarmed at the scarcity of seamen, he addressed a letter of remonstrance to Governor Robertson, who in turn submitted it to the Chamber of Commerce. This body, through their president, made a reply in which they express regret that the admiral "intimates that encouraging privateers is incompatible with and prejudicial to the King's service," that "to take out a great part of the best men and put them on board of men-of-war, and thereby in a measure breaking up the cruise without regularly trying the offenders, are terms too hard for any owners however opulent to attempt to combat." They close their lengthy memorial expressing their surprise that not more but so many seamen had been enlisted here, and state their confident opinion that "this Port can be exceeded by none upon this continent, and perhaps it is not far below the second in Great Britain." In June they again requested "that some means may be produced so as to encourage the Fishermen to take Fish for the supply of the garrison, and that its commerce may not be annoyed by the Privateers and Whaleboats that infest even the Narrows." On the very day of the Chamber of Commerce complaint, Captains Hyler and Story with two whaleboats entered New-York Bay, and taking the schooner Jack, with six carriage-guns besides swivels, burned her at noon-day in sight of the guard-ship. The schooner was tender to the admiral's flag-ship. Three other vessels loaded with live-stock for the New-York markets were cut out and carried off on the same expedition.[1]

This appeal for protection was the last public act of the chamber. It is melancholy to reflect that merchants whose interest and support were derived from the safe goings and comings of ships and their cargoes, should be driven to the encouragement of their worst enemy, the privateer. As the war lingered languishing to its close, so the life of the chamber was henceforth almost perfunctory; their last action being at their meeting in 1783, when they chose officers who were never to serve. Thomas Buchanan, who was elected president, declined to qualify; and no further sessions were held during the year. Twenty-three of the members gathered January 20, 1784, and Messrs. Gerard and William Walton occupied their seats as vice-presidents. Some resolutions were agreed to as to the readmission of old members who had resigned on account of the restrictions imposed by the chamber as to the rates at which Jersey money should be accepted; and a number of new members who had returned from exile were proposed. But it was soon found that the chamber could not hold the confidence of the regenerated city until purged of its adherence to the enemies of the country during the period of British occupation.

[1] Captain Adam Hyler, the hero of these exploits, was of New Brunswick, New Jersey. He died in September of this year (1783).

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Peace with Great Britain was proclaimed by Congress in April, 1783, and the city of New-York was formally evacuated by the hostile forces on November 25 following. A few transports lingered for a while in the harbor, but by the 5th or 6th of December the British flag had disappeared from New-York waters. In the interim numbers of exiled citizens returned to the city and looked to restore their dilapidated or ruined homes, and to resume their peaceful vocations. Their patience and forbearance surprised both friends and foes. The New-York "News-letter" of January 4, 1784, gives interesting testimony of this praiseworthy attitude. An extract from a long anecdote of a British officer sent on shore to remove some effects some days after the evacuation, runs as follows: "Well," said he to a gentleman in the company, "this is a strange scene indeed! Here in this city we have had an army for more than seven years, and yet could not keep the peace of it. Scarcely a day or night without tumults. Now we are gone, everything is in quietness and safety." "These Americans," continued he, "are a curious original people; they know how to govern themselves, but nobody else can govern them." The extract continues: "The British appear to have been exceedingly disappointed and mortified at the order and regularity which immediately took place upon the evacuation. They had predicted nothing but riots, revenge, and tumults, and under this expectation the last scene they were to witness confounded them like a conquest. It is melancholy to reflect (for reflection will find its way even to the severest hearts) how many thousands their assuming arrogance and delusive proclamations have ruined, and how many more their false alarms have unnecessarily frightened away. Hundreds might have staid in safety, and many no doubt remained who can have no good pretensions to be here. It was impossible to view this city at the time of the evacuation, and the immediate repossession of it by its exiled inhabitants, without experiencing a conflict of affecting passions. To see many hundreds made immediately happy by a safe return to their long forsaken homes, and others made wretched by having new habitations to seek in a comfortless region at a gloomy season, were circumstances that by contrasting each other produced in the mind a disquieting compound of joy and pity."[1] The journals of the time bear no record of any public quarrels.

It was not until the spring of 1784 that the merchants found reason or leisure for any concerted action to revive the trade of the port. The first step was the establishment of a bank. During the colonial period there was no such institution as an incorporated bank. The first of this nature was the Bank of North America, originated by Robert Morris, "Financier of the Revolution," in Philadelphia in

[1] The winter of 1783 to 1784 was bitterly cold, and the suffering of the people great.

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1780, and incorporated in 1781.[1] The second was the Bank of New-York, which was originated at a meeting held February 26, 1784, at the Merchants' Coffee-House, and was there formally organized March 15 following, with Alexander McDougall[2] as president, and William Seton as cashier. The subscriptions were promptly paid up, and it opened business in the following June at the Walton House, on Franklin Square.

The Merchants' Coffee-House, called the Old Coffee-House after 1772, when another was opened near it, had passed in 1776 into the keeping of Cornelius Bradford, whose services to commerce deserve a record. The Coffee-House had always been the rendezvous of the merchants, the shipmasters, and the captains of vessels, but Bradford was the first to properly arrange and give out the information required by this class of people. In his opening announcement, April, 1776, he says: "The greatest attention will be given to the arrival of vessels, when trade and navigation shall resume their former channels." Trade unfortunately did not resume its former channels, and after the disaster of Long Island, in September, 1776, the patriotic host went out with the American army and resided at Rhinebeck, near the Hudson, until the autumn of 1783. He issued his opening advertisement in October of this year, and in the next month announced that "he had prepared a book in which he will insert the names of such as may please to call upon him, the names of their vessels, the ports from whence they came, and any other particular occurrences of their voyages, in order that the Gentlemen of this City, or travellers, may obtain the earliest intelligence thereof; particular care will be taken in the delivery of all such letters as may be intrusted to his care." The letter delivery was an old custom, but the plan of a marine list or gazette was novel. Henceforth the arrivals of vessels, "from Bradford's Marine List," regularly appear in Loudon's "New-York Packet." The next month he made another new departure: "For the accommodation of the Public, to prevent the many disappointments that daily happen to returned citizens or others inquiring for their friends, connections or those they may have business with, the subscriber has opened a book, 'The City Register,' alphabetically arranged, at the bar of the Coffee House, where any gentlemen now resident in the City, either as a housekeeper or lodger, or those who may hereafter arrive, may insert their names and places of residence. The said register will always be open at the

[1] Robert Morris was not of the New-York Morrisania family. Born in Liverpool, he came to America at an early age, and was brought up in the great house of Thomas Willing, of Philadelphia, of which he was later a partner. He was one of the Pennsylvania delegates to the Continental Congress, and as such signed the Declaration of Independence.

[2] General McDougall was of Scotch origin, the leader of the Sons of Liberty with John Lamb; he commanded the first of the four regiments raised by New-York on the continental establishment. He was commissioned brigadier-general in 1776, major-general in 1777, and was chosen State senator after the peace.

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bar of the Coffee House by which means the disappointments so frequently happening to those who enquire or are enquired after will be prevented. *N. B.* The constant opportunity the subscriber has of knowing how numerous these disappointments are, has, for the convenience of the public, suggested to him the above mentioned plan." This was the first attempt at a city register or a city directory. The first printed directory was that of David Franks, 1786.

In March also the United Whaling Company was summoned to meet at the Long Room of the Coffee-House. This company was organized, on the motion of Mr. Henry Remsen, by the Chamber of Commerce in 1774. No less a person than Philip Livingston was its president; Charles McEvers, the treasurer of the chamber, was its treasurer; Joseph Allicocke[1] was its secretary. This company closed its affairs in August, 1776. Its operations were no doubt in near waters, as the New-York laws of 1772 exempted from tonnage dues "all vessels engaged in whaling." The noted Thomas Hyler was the first named of its captains. Anthony Van Dam was of the committee for "the purchase of vessels and the sale of oils."

The Chamber of Commerce, which for half a century had been the authorized representative of commercial New-York, was held in the opinions of counsel to have forfeited its charter by "misuse and non-use" during the British occupation. The legislature of the State, then sitting in New-York, was accordingly petitioned to grant a new charter, which was done on April 13, 1784. Forty names were appended to the petition.[2] The signers met at the Merchants' Coffee-House, April 20, and reorganized under the name of Chamber of Commerce of the State of New-York. They elected John Alsop president, Isaac Sears vice-president, John Broome treasurer, John Blagge secretary. Nine of these petitioners were old members, and seven more of these[3] were proposed at this meeting, and readmitted within this and the following year. Seventeen others still, of the old or colonial mem-

[1] This old Son of Liberty seems to have deserted his colors. Appointed secretary of the Committee of Correspondence in 1774, he resigned that post. He was then inspector of pot and pearl ashes. He was a wine merchant, and remained in the city during the war. Captain Montresor, the British engineer, speaks of him in his journal in a manner too uncomplimentary to repeat.

[2] Petitioners: Samuel Broome, Jeremiah Platt, John Broome, Benjamin Ledyard, Thomas Randall, Robert Bowne, Daniel Phœnix, Jacob Morris, Eliphalet Brush, James Jarvis, John Blagge, Viner Van Zandt, Stephen Sayre, Jacobus Van Zandt, Nathaniel Hazard, Thomas Hazard, Abraham P. Lott, Abraham Duryee, William Malcolm, John Alsop, Isaac Sears, James Beekman, Abraham Lott, Comfort Sands, Joseph Blackwell, Joshua Sands, Lawrence Embree, George Embree, Gerardus Duyckinck, Cornelius Ray, Anthony Griffiths, Thomas Tucker, John Berrilham, Isaac Roosevelt, John Franklin, John H. Kip, Henry H. Kipp, Archibald Currie, David Currie, and Jonathan Lawrence, "all of the said city merchants." Names of the old members who were petitioners: John Alsop, Daniel Phœnix, Isaac Roosevelt, James Beekman, Jeremiah Platt, Isaac Sears, Gerardus Duyckinck, Thomas Randall, Jacobus Van Zandt.

[3] Henry Remsen, John J. Glover, Peter Ketaltas, William Neilson, John Ramsay, and Walter Buchanan. Mr. Neilson, the last survivor of the original members of 1768, died in New-York, November 26, 1826, at the advanced age of eighty-three years.

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bers, were readmitted by resolution, on the motion of General William Malcolm, February 13, 1787, conditioned on their appearance at a stated meeting. Nothing could have been more considerate and generous, or more characteristic of this large-hearted man.[1] All of these gentlemen had remained in the city during the war, but in a neutral attitude. At least they were not obnoxious to their Whig associates. The president, John Alsop,[2] was one of the founders of the chamber, and had served as vice-president in 1774. He was one of the richest, most influential, and most respected of the commercial magnates of the colonial period.

The New-York insurance office, of which Anthony Van Dam[3] was the old secretary, and the patrons of which were the Waltons, Crugers, Jaunceys, and other city capitalists, was now apparently closed. Underwriting was done in a different style in those days. Each gentleman had his own book, and the business of the clerk was simply to make the entries, keep a record, and adjust the settlements among the interested parties. Cunningham and Wardrop opened a public insurance office in 1777, which was a new departure and a step toward our present system. Here policies were received and offered to the merchants and underwriters generally. In 1784 the New-York Insurance Company, which had its office in the brick building next to the Coffee-House, seems to have opened under a different management. The new managers had taken the front room of the Auction House, which Daniel Phœnix had just opened at the lower end of Coffee-House Bridge, in the store lately occupied by Cunningham and Wardrop, who apparently had taken wing. The buildings "vis-à-vis the Coffee-House" (at present Water street) were at this time called the "Merchant's Promenade or Auctioneer's Row."

A fresh attempt was made this year toward a fire-insurance company. A notice appeared in the "New-York Packet" on February 6, 1784: "Some gentlemen have now in contemplation to form a company for insuring houses in this city against fire. Such houses as are insured will be of course received as security at the bank"; and a

[1] William Beekhouse (after whom William B. Astor was named), Patrick McDavitt, Oliver Templeton, Edward Goold, William Laight, Daniel Ludlow, George W. Ludlow, Robert R. Waddell, Theophylact Bache, John Thurman, Daniel McCormick, William Lowther, John Murray, and William Walton.

[2] John Alsop was an active patriot in the Stamp Act period, member of the Committee of Inspectors in 1770, deputy chairman of the Committee of Correspondence of Fifty-one in 1774, one of the New-York delegates to the first Continental Congress, of the Committee of One Hundred in 1775. Elected to the second Continental Congress, he declined to sign the Declaration of Independence because of insufficient instruction. He withdrew to Middletown, Conn., where his brother resided, and remained there in quiet till the close of the war. His only child, Mary, was married in 1786 to Rufus King, delegate from Massachusetts to the National Congress, and later minister to England. The name was continued in the issue of this marriage, John Alsop King, Governor of New-York, and later in the son of the governor, John Alsop King, member of the New-York State legislature, and for several years past president of the New-York Historical Society.

[3] Anthony Van Dam had gone out with the troops to London, where he died. There is a very interesting tablet to the memory of this last of the Dutchmen in St. Paul's Church, New-York, set up by his unmarried sister, Catharine Van Dam, in the year 1824.

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further attempt was made by John Delafield,[1] in April, 1785, to establish a fire-insurance office, but it failed.

In 1785 the Marine Society, in order to connect their members together, and to promote the original object of the institution, determined to have a social dinner at the Coffee-House on January 19. The newspapers say they had an elegant dinner provided, and were honored with the company of his Excellency the President "of Congress and the Honorable the Members of the same, it being then in session at New-York; his Honor the Mayor James Duane, Major-General McDougall, and a number of other gentlemen." The Chamber of Commerce would not be outdone in the matter of hospitable entertainment, and in their turn dined the President and the Congress on the first Monday in 1785. A notable toast in the regulation number (thirteen) was "a free trade with all the world." The stewards on this occasion were Messrs. George Embree, Henry Remsen, and James Buchanan, and their proportion of the expenses of the entertainment (presumably for invited guests) was £6 6s.

The history of the collection of customs at the port of New-York, in the distracted period of the United States government under the weak confederation proposed in 1777 and established in 1781, is interesting as showing the incoherent commercial relations of the several States to each other. The unsatisfactory condition of these relations was the impelling cause that brought the people to demand "a more perfect union," and resulted in the Constitution of 1787. Willing as were all the colonies to unite for common defense, they were alike tenacious of their commercial autonomy. Each one of the thirteen original colonies had its own seaport, and each was quite willing to take its chance in the struggle for trade, perhaps the smaller more so than their larger neighbors.

Robt Fulton

Under the severe restrictions of Great Britain upon the trade of her American colonies, smuggling had been from the beginning of the English rule the habit rather than the exception; and the coast traders thought it no crime to run goods in to the detriment of the legitimate

[1] John Delafield, an English gentleman, came out in the Mercury packet in 1783, when she brought over the definitive treaty of peace. He was the founder of the well-known New-York family of this name, distinguished in the military service of the United States, in the professions of law and medicine, and in commerce. He was admitted to the Chamber of Commerce in 1789.

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commerce of the chief seaports. It will now be shown that State legislation stimulated rather than checked this underhand traffic — criminal as well as underhand, because if the State governments were to be maintained by customs, any infringement was a damage to the people themselves, the governments being now representatives of the people and no longer royal establishments.

In February, 1781, the Continental Congress, preparing for the supreme struggle which ended at Yorktown, summoned the States to vest power in Congress to levy for general purposes a duty of five per cent. *ad valorem* on the foreign goods at the place of importation, the money to be applied to the funding of the debt of the United States, in the hope of reëstablishing the sinking credit. The legislature of New-York passed the act in March, conditional on similar action by the other States. Rhode Island positively refused, and Virginia, which at first approved, withdrew her consent. New Jersey, in an able memorial to Congress in July, pointed out the inefficient nature of the power vested in Congress over the foreign trade of the country, and urged that all duties and customs imposed thereon ought to be appropriated to the building of a navy. But the country was not prepared for this, and the States, regardless of the recommendation of Congress, established rates at their pleasure. Thus Connecticut, with the view of attracting the trade of her neighbors, established a rate five per cent. below that of New-York. On March 15, 1783, on the ground that other States had passed acts not consonant to the act of Congress of 1781, New-York repealed this act, and passed a new act granting a similar duty, but ordering its collection by officers under authority of the State. New-York was still in British occupation.

In November, 1784, on the petition of the Chamber of Commerce, recently reorganized under the laws of the State, the legislature, then sitting at the City Hall in New-York, ordered that the duties be levied under a specific in lieu of an *ad valorem* tariff, as recommended by Congress. The merchants of New-York had always favored a specific duty. To the objection that by the specific duty the rich and poor consumers are taxed alike, they made the conclusive answer that under a specific duty the superior article, the best goods, will always seek the market. This petition of the Chamber of Commerce was worded in that way by Isaac Moses, one of the most intelligent and respected of the Jewish merchants of the city and a member of that institution. The legislature listened to this prayer, and on November 18, 1784, passed an act levying specific duties, and establishing a custom-house the same day. Colonel John Lamb, the veteran Son of Liberty, the companion of the gallant Richard Montgomery at Quebec, the trusted commander of the Second Continental Artillery, to whom General Washington intrusted the important com-

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mand of West Point after Arnold's treason, was appointed collector, becoming thus the first collector of the port. He established the custom-house in the lower floor of his dwelling-house, which was on the north side of Wall street, about midway between Pearl and William streets.

In 1786 Congress made another effort to obtain the requisite control over the customs. Nine States had assented, but four—New-York, Rhode Island, Maryland, and Georgia—refused. A special appeal was adopted by Congress and addressed to the States. Three passed the New-York Act, but New-York, now under Clinton's control, still refused. Still there was a large party in New-York, led by Alexander Hamilton (who was at the head of all the movements of economic organization both of the Nation and the State), which saw the imperative need of the proposed legislation. In the spring a meeting was held which unanimously agreed to the necessity of granting the impost to Congress, as a system alone sufficiently efficacious to give energy to the Union: "That the trade and commerce of the United States cannot flourish without this plan, and that a notice be given to the public that a petition to the legislature was prepared and would be left for signature at Bradford's Coffee-House, at Van de Water's, in the Fields, and at Abraham Martine's, the Bear Market, North River, and a meeting was called at Van de Water's for four o'clock." All in vain, for when the New-York legislature met and the subject came up for discussion the following year, February 8, 1787, the grant of power was rejected by a large majority. The only hope for the future seemed now to rest on the national convention, recommended at the Annapolis conference, to be held for the reconstruction of the constitution. Virginia, at the express wish of Washington and with his name at the head of her roll of delegates, took the lead in that action, and New-York fell into line. Hamilton and Gouverneur Morris, a son of New-York, although just then a citizen of Philadelphia and one of Pennsylvania's delegates, were among the master spirits of that remarkable body which met at Philadelphia and, settling the principles of our government, cemented the feeble fabric of the Confederation into the solid structure of perpetual union.

The wonderful advantage the great waterway of the Hudson and the system of interior streams gave to New-York was early seen. Already, in 1784, Christopher Colles, an ingenious mathematician, had addressed a memorial to the two houses of the New-York legislature proposing a plan for navigation on the Mohawk River, and in 1786 he received some aid for his plans, being supported by the indorsement of the Chamber of Commerce. The project had been then extended to reach not only to Oswego on Lake Ontario, but the Great Lakes at Lake Erie. The population of the city in 1786 was computed by

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Noah Webster[1] at 23,614 souls. It was then the second city in importance of the western continent. Philadelphia, the first in numbers, had at this period 40,000; Boston, 15,000; Baltimore, 14,000; and Charleston, whose ambition had once run high, 10,000. The enterprise of New-York was already measuring the distance from the sea to the interior lakes, and with prophetic vision forecasting the general system of canal communications which should connect them all and open a great avenue for the commerce of the continent. The road to the Canadian provinces was up the broad valley of the Hudson, at whose mouth lay the matchless landlocked harbor, safe anchorage for the fleets of all nations. The mission of New-York was commerce, and she early understood it and entered upon it with a zeal and energy which have never flagged.

The forward spring of New-York after the freedom of trade from British restrictions was marvelous. It can only be explained by a reflection on the education of war. The long struggle of the Revolution had familiarized the enterprising spirits of the marching force with the great natural advantages of New-York as an outlet for the products of the soil of the continent, and as a harbor for the fleets which would gather to carry that harvest across the sea or distribute it at home. Immediately on the peace some of these persons came in as escort of Washington; numbers of this class, especially of New England origin, flocked to the city. To use a familiar expression: "They came in with the conquest"—a conquest of the city from the enfeebled arms of a decaying civilization by the aspiring spirit of a new.

Jonathan Thompson[2]

Before the Revolution the only mail communication with Europe was by way of Great Britain. Five packet-boats attached to this

[1] He was engaged for many years in commercial pursuits in New-York. His name appears on the Chamber of Commerce roll of 1791.

[2] Jonathan Thompson was born December 7, 1773, at Satikos Manor, a country-seat on Long Island, where his ancestors had lived since 1656. He married Miss Elizabeth Havens, and became one of the firm of Gardiner & Thompson in the West India importing business in New-York city. He was appointed collector of taxes under Madison, in 1813, and in 1819 collector of the port under Monroe, holding the position for ten years. In 1840 he was made president of the bank of the Manhattan Company, remaining there until his death in 1846. Mr. Thompson was unostentatious in manner, a prudent and able financier, and stood high in the financial and social world. His son David, a well-known man in Wall street, was born in 1798, and died in 1872, his wife being Miss Sarah Diodati Gardiner, daughter of John Lyon Gardiner, of Gardiner's Island, N. Y. EDITOR.

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service carried the mails between the stations of Falmouth and New-York. They were the Earl of Halifax, the Harriott, the Duke of Cumberland, the Lord Hyde, and the Mercury. The Mercury was a historic vessel, having brought over from England, on July 21, 1783, the definitive treaty of peace. This was the opening of the new era. No sooner was it signed than the great continental powers hastened to welcome the advent of the young republic. France, the Netherlands, and Spain were all represented by first-class ministers as early as 1785. Only England, in lamentation for the loss of her colonies, like "Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted." France, which, under the instigation of Lafayette, had entered into a commercial treaty with America in 1778, was the first to take advantage of the opening of the port of New-York to European trade. On November 19, 1783, before the evacuation of the city, the Courier de l'Europe, Captain Cornic de Moulin, arrived from the port of L'Orient, and notice was at once given of the establishment of a line of five first-class packet-ships. These were le Courier de l'Europe, le Courier de l'Amérique, le Courier de New-York, le Courier de l'Orient, and L'Alligator, to make monthly trips. The line in New-York was under the general management of Hector St. John de Crèvecœur, the consul-general of France for Connecticut, New-York, and New Jersey, a gentleman of birth and education, and well known for his public papers on the agricultural features of America. The immediate supervision of the line was by the deputy agent, William Seton. On December 10 he advertised his appointment in the "Royal Gazette," his office being at 215 Water street. A better choice could not have been made. Mr. Seton was of a well-known Scotch family highly connected at home. Three of his sisters are familiar to lovers of literature—Lady Sinott, Lady Cayley, and Mrs. Berry, mother of the faithful and cultivated young ladies whose graces Horace Walpole has charmingly recorded. He had remained in New-York during the war, and was even notary public under the royal commission; but his appointment to this new service shows the moderation of his character and the esteem of his fellow-citizens.

The "noble cabin" of L'Orient was advertised as capable of accommodating forty persons at table. The price of passage was fixed at five hundred livres (one hundred dollars) at the captain's tables; and two hundred livres (forty dollars) for those who chose to take ship's rations; and one hundred and twenty livres (twenty-four dollars) the ton of four thousand pounds weight or forty-two cubical feet. This vessel sailed on her return December 19, 1783, having among her outward passengers a number of officers of the British army. She was followed by the Courier de New-York, which left L'Orient December 15, 1783, and arrived in New-York February 2, 1784, a passage of

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forty-nine days. She anchored off Sandy Hook and rode out a tremendous gale. The Courier de l'Amérique was commanded by le Chevalier d'Aboville. One of this family was the colonel commandant of Rochambeau's artillery. This vessel sailed from New-York at the close of February, having on board Colonel Harman with the ratification by Congress of the definitive articles of peace.

In the commencement of this enterprise the public were informed that the French packet was an immediate channel of conveyance for letters from and to all parts of the continent of Europe, the general post-office at Paris having a daily intercourse with all the capitals. Lafayette came out in the Courier de New-York on his first visit after the war. He sailed July 1, 1784, and arrived August 4, after a passage of thirty-four days. The vessel brought out a choice collection of books, sent by the King of France to the consul-general, to be presented to the universities of Philadelphia and Williamsburg. They were given at the request of the Count de Vergennes and the Marquis de Chastellux. On the arrival of the ship, the French consul-general communicated to the merchants of New-York an invitation of the king "to avail themselves of the French ports of the Isles of France and Bourbon on their voyages to and from the East Indies," where they were promised every protection and every liberty they might wish for or stand in need of: a port of refuge and protection probably against the pirates whose junk-boats swarmed in the eastern ocean. Jointly with the United States, France hoped to seize upon the trade of the British and destroy their prestige in those distant seas. But England was not willing to be utterly isolated from the prosperous trade with her old colonies, and quickly reëstablished the Falmouth line of packets, with five vessels also. Their passages had been intermittent during the war, and at great peril from the venturesome whaleboatmen of New-York.

The enterprising merchants did not depend on foreign aid, nor were they content with a narrow trade; from the beginning they took in a broad horizon. In the autumn of 1783, some of the bolder ones, in association with Robert Morris and others of Philadelphia, purchased a ship and despatched her to China. This ship, the Empress of China, Captain John Green, sailed February 22, 1784, Washington's birthday. She carried the original flag of the United States adopted in 1777. This flag, first shown on the Pacific in 1784, was taken round the world by the Columbia in 1789–90, and by the Franklin, of Salem, Mass., to Japan in 1799. Though peace brought prosperity, all was not plain sailing. Pirates were reported in the West India waters, and there was consternation in February, 1785, caused by the report of the capture of an American vessel by the Barbary pirates, who not only infested the Mediterranean seas, but passing the Straits of Hercules,

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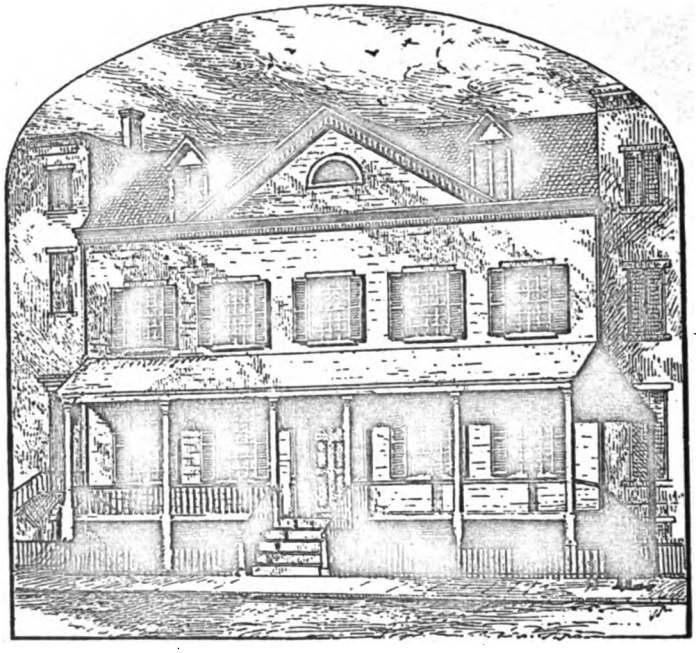
ventured far into the open ocean. Great Britain not only connived at, but was party to the nefarious practice of taking papers of safe conduct, "Mediterranean passes," from the Algerine powers. As yet the States of the young republic were too weak and too discordant to avenge these outrages.

The States were at the outset extremely averse to levying the five per cent. duty recommended by Congress. At first many of the legislatures refused point-blank, but in March, 1784, of the thirteen States only Rhode Island stayed out, the other twelve having consented—New-York, however, under a specific rate. But the Constitution of 1789 brought the customs system under federal authority, put an end to the specific duties, and changed the New-York custom-house from a



BAYARD HOUSE (WHERE HAMILTON DIED).[1]

State to a federal bureau. Though the change was not palatable, it was fortunate. The equalization of tariff rates in all the States brought back to New-York the trade which had been diverted from her by the lower rates of her neighbors.[2] It is hardly worth while to

[1] The beautiful country-seat where Hamilton died belonged to his friend William Bayard, the wealthy merchant. At that time it faced the Hudson River, but in later years became No. 82 Jane street. The house was taken down during the summer of 1890. EDITOR.

[2] We adduce one instance in proof. John V. Glover, who, before the Revolution, had managed in New-York the large woolen trade of the great house of Elams of Leeds, Yorkshire, England, at the close of the war closed his agency in the city, and entering into partnership with Thomas Pearsall, removed to New Haven. The adoption of the constitution was the signal for the breaking up of the New Haven house and the return of Mr. Glover to New-York. On his return he continued his business in New-York at 222 Pearl street. Besides taking shares in commercial ventures and trading voyages, after the good old fashion, with Peter Schermerhorn, John Titus, and Thomas C. Pearsall, he engaged in the Calcutta trade on his own account.

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dwell upon the operation of the New-York custom-house during the five years of its existence. The period was at best an interim between the old supreme authority of the crown and the new method of the young republic.

To establish the condition of commerce at the beginning of the new order, and to fix a basis for comparisons of its later growth, we must turn to the somewhat incomplete figures which Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, submitted to Congress in February, 1791. In this general statement New-York appears with a tonnage of 92,737 entered, of which 48,922 were United States vessels, 14,654 being engaged in the coasting-trade. Massachusetts led in tonnage with 195,401 tons, Pennsylvania followed with 105,633, Virginia came third with 104,000, New-York came fourth as above stated, and Maryland fifth with 90,639 tons. From this it appears that of the grand total, 761,710 tons, Massachusetts had twenty-five and three quarters per cent., Pennsylvania fourteen per cent., Virginia thirteen per cent., and New-York twelve and one quarter per cent. The relative importance of the ports of importation can only be measured by the duties collected at each. The result is curious. The total customs collected is stated at $2,130,224: Pennsylvania leading with $518,795, New-York following with $494,296, Massachusetts third with $378,860, Maryland fourth with $230,890. The value of imports into New-York was $3,231,712 (of which two and one half millions from the British dominions); into Massachusetts, $1,776,438; into Pennsylvania, $4,062,541; into Virginia, $2,487,405.

On December 31, 1799, the Secretary of the Treasury reported the tonnage of the United States shipping at 939,408; of which 662,197 tons were engaged in the foreign trade, the remainder coastwise and in the fisheries. Of this foreign trade New-York had 106,537 tons; Pennsylvania, 84,486; Baltimore, 73,046; and Boston, 67,664; while the Southern ports had dropped far behind. At the close of the century New-York had already reached the first place in the shipping trade, a preëminence she has never since relinquished. The summary of the value of the exports for the year ending September 30, 1800, states the sum at seventy-one millions of dollars. New-York leads with fourteen millions, Maryland follows with twelve millions, Massachusetts is third with eleven millions, and South Carolina fourth with ten millions. Virginia had already dropped to less than five millions. By a process of discriminating duties in favor of American bottoms, the carrying-trade remained in American hands; and by their operation during the war incident to the French Revolution, American tonnage had increased to an amount exceeding that of any nation in Europe except Great Britain. Before long, however, Great Britain grew jealous of this prosperity, and put in force in 1797 the right of

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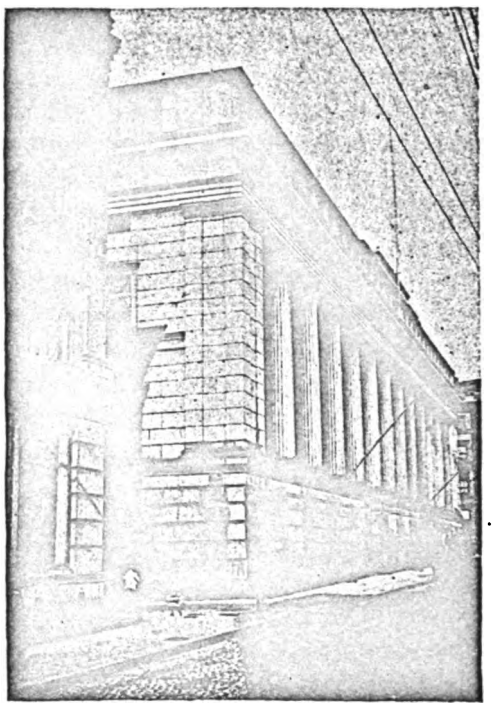
"countervailing" duties, reserved in the Jay treaty of 1794. France, discontented with the refusal of the United States to aid her in her struggle, levied duties in reply to the discriminating duties levied in America. This almost at once checked the growth of the American marine, and New-York quickly felt the change.

With the close of the continental wars both the carrying-trade and the "accidental trade," as Albert Gallatin termed the great entrepôt business of import and export under debenture, rapidly declined. Great Britain, whose jealousy was thoroughly aroused, began what has been aptly termed "a war in disguise." In 1807 Great Britain issued the famous "Orders in Council," with the declared purpose of compelling all nations to give up their maritime trade or accept it through British ports. This was in answer to Napoleon's "Berlin decree" of 1806, which declared the British islands in a state of blockade, and all articles of British product or manufacture contraband of war. The British orders were a step in advance of this measure, and not only disregarded the interests of the United States, but included her in the exclusion. The United States replied with the Embargo Act, December 22, 1807. Mr. Gallatin advised Jefferson at this crisis that "war was preferable to a permanent embargo."



NEW-YORK CUSTOM-HOUSE.

At this period (the close of 1807), the exports of domestic products and manufactures were $48,689,542; imports of foreign produce and manufactures, $59,643,558; total, $108,333,100. The tonnage was 1,268,548; of which 848,306 was in the foreign trade. New-York again led in the exports.

The instant effect of the embargo is sufficiently shown by the statement of the exports for the year 1808. From one hundred and eight million dollars in value in 1807, they fell in one year to twenty-two millions. The suffering from such a shrinkage was intense. Politics ran high and opposition grew strong as the stringent measures to enforce the Act of Embargo were applied. New England, which always in her history chafed at restraint, and which had no French sympathy,

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was restive, even dangerously restive. Massachusetts in February, 1809, addressed a remonstrance to Congress which, while censuring the belligerent powers of Europe as a whole, leaned strongly toward reconciliation with Great Britain. The tension could not be sustained, and on June 18, 1812, war was declared against Great Britain. Duties were doubled on all importations. Here closes the first or experimental era of United States commerce.

MERCHANTS ON THE ROLL OF FREEMEN

The mayor and city officials took the oath of allegiance to the Duke of York on November 2, 1675, and at their meeting, January 20, 1675–6, ordered that "noe person or Merchant whatsoever sell, or cause to bee sold, or put to sale any Goods, wares, or Merchandizes by retale, upon paine to forfeit all such goods, wares, and merchandises, unless such person or persons are Freemen or made Free or Burgers of this Citty and settled housekeepers for the space of one yeare or given security for the same, unless by special license" (the intention being to exclude the itinerant peddler from the neighborhood), and "all and every Merchant hereafter to bee made free shall pay for the same Six Bevers" (the beaver-skin being the currency of the province). The following names appear:

1678–9 Arnolt Legrange, merchant, six beavers paid to Mr. Mayor.
1680 William Pinhorne.

In March, 1683–4, the common council ordained that thereafter every merchant, trader, or shopkeeper to be made free pay the sum of three pounds twelve shillings. On November 9, 1683, the mayor and common council petitioned Governor Dongan for a new charter to confirm to them their ancient charters granted by Governor Nicolls in 1665; among these was the admission and regulation of the freemen of the city. The Dongan Charter was granted April 20, 1686, and on the 24th the common council ordered that the fee for freedoms be five pounds.

1686	Stephen De Lancey, merchant,	
1692	Robert Downs, "	
1694–95	Ouzeel Van Swieten, "	
	Stephen Jamain, "	
1695	Nicholas Jamain, "	
	Matthew Ling, "	
	Richard Willett, "	
	Benjamin Aske, "	
	Aaron Schuyler, "	
	James Mills, "	
	Adrian Hoghlandt, "	
1696	Jacob De Porto, "	
	Johannes Cuyler, "	
1696–97	Evert Banker, "	
1697–98	William Morehead, "	
	Thomas Palmer, "	
	Phillip French, "	
	Thomas Noel, "	
	John Cocsart, "	
	Isaac Fernandas Dias, "	
1698	Daniel Crommelin, "	
	Charles Crommelin, "	
	William Morris, "	
	Thomas Clarke, "	
	Arthur Bunyan, "	
1698	Johannes Hoghlandt, merchant,	
	Isaac Depeyster, "	
	John Beeckman, "	
	Henry Van Beel, "	
1698	Cornelius Lodge, "	
	Isaac Gouverneur, "	
1699–99	Joseph Billopp, "	
	Barent Saunders, "	
1699	Benjamin Faneuil, "	
1700	Thomas Turnbull,	
1700–1	Augustus Jay,	Caleb Cooper,
	Benjamin D'hariette,	Peter Thauvelt,
1701–2	Walter Thong,	John Chollwell,
	William Smith,	Oloffe Van Cortlandt,
	Thomas Montagne,	Jacobus Bayard,
	Johannes Outman,	Thomas Davenport,
1702	Gerret Schuyler,	
1702–3	James Davy,	Charles Wolley,
	John Barrow,	John Davis,
	John Scott,	John Cruger,
	Patrick Crawford,	Andrew Stuckey,
1705	John Auboyneau,	Thomas Bayeux,
	John Sloss,	Roger Brett,
	Isaac Thibou,	Isaac Napthaly,
1705–6	Lewis Gomez,	

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1708	Abraham De Lucena,	Anthony Lynch,
	Elias Neserean,	
1708–9	Joseph Robinson,	Rickard Burk,
	William Glencross,	René Hett,
	Robert Livingston,	John Roy,
1710	James Martindale,	Thomas Kearney,
	Andrew Fresneau,	Noah Casalett,
	René Tongrelou,	
1710–11	Charles Teller,	Jacob Franks,
1711–12	William Eyre,	Rodrigo Pacheco,
	James Maxwell,	William Dugdale,
1712–13	Humphrey Salisbury,	
1713	Abraham Brock,	
1713–14	Moses Hart,	
1714–15	David Minvieille,	Adrian Abramson,
	Mordechai Gomes,	
1715	Octavo Coenraet,	
1715–16	Henry Bricard,	Baruch Judah,
	Judah Morris,	John Wytt,
1716	Gilbert Livingston,	
1716–17	Anthony Duane,	John Kelly,
	Benjamin Foster,	Richard Ashfield,
	William Cheshire,	
1719	Thomas Hopkins,	
1720	Lewis Allaire,	
1720–21	Joseph Haines,	Abraham Jouneau,
1721	John Abramson,	
1722	John Ellison,	
1722–23	Abraham Isaacks,	
1723	Gulian Verplank,	Peter Minvielle,
1724	Joseph Pennyman,	
1724–25	Henry Cuyler,	John Walter,
	Abraham Boelen,	Henry Vanderspiegel,
	Cornelius Santford,	
	Richard Van Dam,	John Lewis Pintard,
	Andrew Teller,	Gerrardus Beekman,
1725	Direk Schuyler,	James Searle,
1725–26	Jacob Hays,	
1726	Abraham Rodregos Rivera,	Thomas Dart,
1726–27	John Scot,	John Garreau,
	John Noble,	
1727	Daniel Gomes,	James Fauiers,
1727–28	David Clarkson,	Matthew Clarkson,
1728	Thomas Gilbert,	John Seymour,
	John Groesbeck,	Nicholas Gouverneur,
	Charles Robinson,	
	Enoch Stevenson,	Jan De Wit,
	Ezekiel Barbauld,	Samuel Shurmur,
	Obadiah Hunt, Jr.,	
1729	John Browne,	William Channing,
1730	Friend Lucas,	John Lindesay,
	James Wallace,	
1730–31	Abraham Van Wyck,	
1731	David Abeel,	Joris Brinckerhoff,
	John Le Montes,	Matthias Borrell,
	Peter De Lage,	
1732	Peter Jay,	Anthony Horn,
1732–33	Joseph Scott,	
1734	Barent Rynders,	Stephen Bayard,
	Nicholas Bayard,	Abraham Lynsen,
	Wessell Wessells,	Peter Lynch,
	Nathaniel Marston, Jr.,	John Marshall, Abraham Van Horne,
1734–35	John Stoutenburgh,	
1735	Robert Bowne,	Thomas Willet,
	David Hays,	Judah Hays,
1735–36	Joseph Cowley,	Edward Tittle,
	John Richard,	Thomas Noble,
	Joseph Sacket, Jr.,	
1736	Samuel Bayard, Jr.,	John Schurmur,
	John Vanderspiegel,	Stephen DeLancey, Jr.,
1737	John DeLancey,	John Watts,
	Lawrence LeTellier,	Andrew Clopper,
	David Provoost, Jr.,	John Provoost,
	Thomas Duncan,	Robert Benson,
1737–38	Andrew Fresneau,	
1738	Stephen Lawrence,	Judah Mears,
	Henry Lane, Jr.,	Anthony Rutgers, Jr.,
1739	Isaac Van Dam,	William Walton, Jr.,
	James Thorne,	Nicholas Roosevelt,
1740–41	John Merrett,	
1741	Peter Vanbrugh Livingston,	Thomas Alsop, Thomas Alsop, Jr.,
	Benjamin Blagge,	Moses Lopes,
1742	Edward Graham,	Cornelius Clopper, Jr.,
	Solomon Hayes,	
1742–43	Gerrardus Beekman,	
1743	Levy Samuel,	Thomas Moone,
	Hugh Wentworth,	Tobias Ten Eyck,
	Asher Mott,	
1743–44	Daniel Bloom,	John Dies,
1744–45	John Beekman,	Henry Turck,
1746	Henry Ludlow,	Thomas Ludlow,
	Mathew Van Alstyne,	
1747	Phillip Philipse,	Peter Keteltas,
1747–48	John Tuder,	
1748	Hendrick Remsen,	Robert (James) Livingston,
	Nicholas Stuyvesant,	
	Lawrence Lawrence,	Isaac Roosevelt,
	Jacobus Roosevelt,	Abraham Van Wyck, Jr.,
1749	Pontius Stell,	Richard Thorne,
	Garrett Van Horne,	
1749–50	Thomas Braine,	William Proctor,
1750	Jeremiah Brewer,	John Sackett,
	Leonard Lispenard,	Hamaa Levy,
1750–51	Richard Sharpe,	James Rochell,
	Adrian Houswact,	Joseph Yeoman,
	William Flannigan,	John Long,
1751	Thomas Franklin,	Gerardus William Beekman,
	Sakey Hainsworth,	
	Daniel Stiles,	Andrew Barnes,
1752	William Donaldson,	John Hutcheson,
	Samuel Coon,	Roger Dawson,
1753	John Wilson,	Abraham Sasadas,
	Garret Rapalje,	John Dunlap,
	Alexander Colden,	Reuben Warren Thompson,
1754	John Amory,	Henry Derham,
	John Pierson,	
1755	Roland De Pabia,	Jacob LeRoy,
	David Beekman,	Andrew Cannon,
	Petrus Byvanck,	Cornelius Kortright,
	John Byvanck,	Adolph Brass, Jr.,
1756	Thomas Hays,	Samuel Rogers,
1758	Robert Alexander,	John Dalgliah,
	John Keating,	Isaac Adolphus,
1759	Thomas Wright,	William Alger,
1760	Richard Lewis,	Stephen Richards,
1761	Francis Thodey,	John Imlay,
1762	Thomas Marston,	Stephen Gibbon,
1765	James Abeel,	Gerrard DePeyster,
	William Depeyster, Jr.,	Evert Byvanck, Jr., Jacobus Van Sise,
	Michael Thodey,	Abraham Lynsen,
	Nicholas Depeyster,	John Harris Cruger,
	Nicholas Cruger,	Anthony Rogers, Jr.,

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1765	Peter Low,	Abraham Van Ranst,	1769	Adolph Philipse,	William Imlay,
	Garrit Abeel,	John Carnes,		Thomas Ludlow, Jr.,	Levinus Clarkson,
1766	William Bancker,			Gerrard G. Beekman, Jr.,	John Van Dam,
1767	Richard Bancker,				Henry Holland, Jr.,
1768	James Sacket,	Moses Judah,		Robert C. Livingston,	Robert Watts,
	William W. Ludlow,	John Marston,			Samuel Judah,
1769	John Moore,	Cook Mulligan,		Philip Brashier,	Eliakim Raymond, Jr.,
	John Taylor,	Gabriel W. Ludlow,			
	George Ludlow,	John Lamb,	1770	Abraham Van Wyck,	Matthew Earnest,
	Thomas Duncan,	George Ball,		James Steward,	Jr.,
	William Waddle,	Thomas Barclay,		John Schuyler, Jr.,	Barent Cuyler,
	Thomas Tucker,	Richard Ray,		Aaron Van Hook,	William Laight,
	Edward Nicoll, Jr.,	Gabriel H. Ludlow,		Jr.	

No further entries in the colonial period; no entries during the Revolution. The Montgomerie Charter of 1730 was suspended in 1776, and the city ruled by the military courts of justice established by the British commanders-in-chief. It was revived in 1784. On March 9, 1784, a law relative to the admission of freemen was passed by the common council, by which it was ordained that every merchant, trader, or shopkeeper pay the sum of two pounds of lawful money of the State of New-York, including the several fees. While the roll contains the names of numerous cartmen, laborers, and petty tradesmen admitted to the privilege, but few of merchants appear from 1784 to 1785, after which date only public characters received this honor. The names of merchants appearing are as follows:

1788	James Watson,		1808	John Bingham (Alderman),	James Drake (Alderman),
1791	John Pintard,			William L. Mott,	Isaac S. Douglass,
1796	John P. Pearse,		1809	Roswell Graves.	
1797	Nicholas G. Carmer,	Jasper Ward,			
1799	John Bogert,	Nicholas Carmer,			

The law of 1801 was renewed for the last time in 1815, with the same charge. The laws and ordinances of 1816 contain no articles relating to freemen. EDITOR.

THE AMERICAN LINE OF ATLANTIC STEAMERS

The first steamship to cross the Atlantic was the Savannah, three hundred tons, commanded by Captain Moses Rogers. In June, 1819, she left New-York, where the vessel was built, and, sailing southwesterly, touched at Savannah, Georgia, in nine days; thence to Liverpool, arriving in sight of the coast of Ireland in twenty-five days. In stormy weather, and when under sail, the wheels were unshipped and stowed away on deck. They were used only eight days. Between the Savannah and the steamer New-York, on board of which the American flag was unfurled on Washington's birthday, in 1893, by the President of the United States, what a contrast! Following the Savannah came the Royal William, which steamed all the way in 1831, as did an English vessel of the same name, on a voyage from Liverpool to New-York two years later. The former was designed by a native of Quebec, and constructed in a shipyard under the shadow of the citadel of the ancient capital of Canada. The second Royal William was followed by the Liverpool, which crossed the Atlantic in seventeen days, returning to England in fifteen. The Sirius and Great Western came a few years later, and were really the pioneers of the Atlantic liners, making the business for the first time profitable by their famous race in 1838. The latter vessel was well known, among other things, as being the steamer Dr. Dionysius Lardner, the learned scientist, proved could not cross the Atlantic, and then took advantage of to elope in with another person's wife. A decade later, the New-York Collins steamers appeared, and for nearly a score of years shared with the Cunard and other foreign lines the pa-

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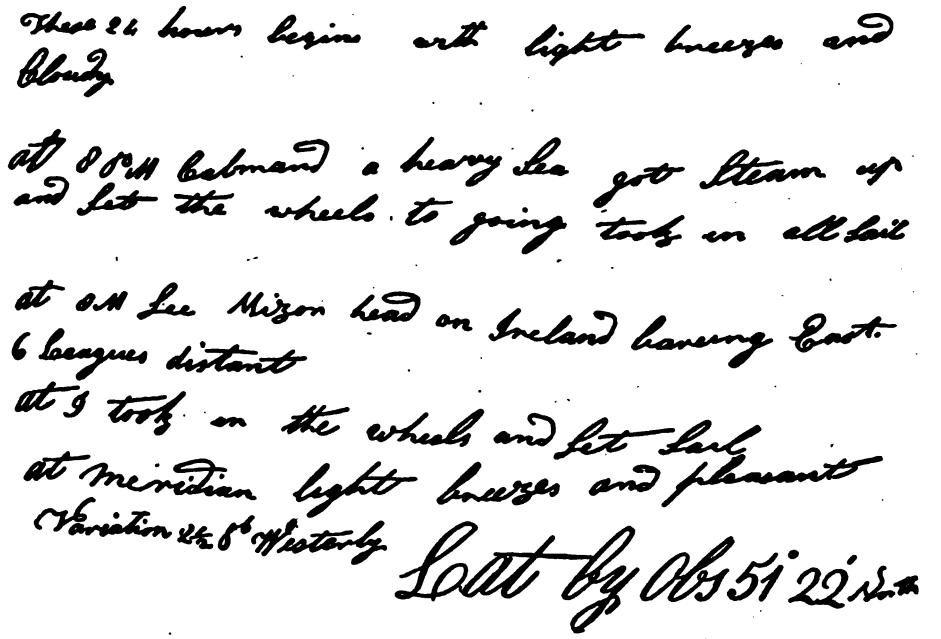
tronage of the American public. Then our flag almost disappeared from the merchant marine engaged in carrying the mails and passengers across the Atlantic, until it was revived by the organization, in 1892, of an American line sailing between New-York and Southampton. On the next page may be seen a representation of the New-York, one of the finest steamers afloat, and with, as yet, an unsurpassed record for speed, unless that distinction is admitted for her sister ship Paris; while the United States armored cruiser New-York (see Vol. III, p. 603) developed in her preliminary trials in March, 1893, a rate of speed never before equaled by an armored ship of war. Of this signal for a new policy in the matter of the American merchant marine, the New-York "Tribune" remarks:

"President Harrison celebrated a patriotic holiday by raising the American flag over the New-York. While the ceremonies were delayed by an unfortunate railway accident, the change of colors was witnessed by a brilliant assemblage and was honored by a naval salute from the Chicago. The occasion marked, as all Americans who


These 24 hours begin with light breezes and Cloudy

at 8 PM Calm and a heavy Sea got Steam up and set the wheels to going took in all Sail

at 9 PM Lee Mizen head on Ireland bearing East 6 Leagues distant

at 3 took in the wheels and set Sail

at Meridian light breezes and pleasant

Variation 2½ 8° Westerly Latt by Obs 51° 22' N.

EXTRACT FROM LOG-BOOK OF THE SAVANNAH.[1]

love their flag will hope, the turning-point of the fortunes of the merchant marine. During recent years the United States has been saving its pennies in ocean mail contracts, and flinging away its millions in freightage to foreign ship-owners. The raising of the flag over the New-York is the signal for a wiser and more patriotic policy. It is now commonly admitted that the conditions are favorable for a general revival of the nation's shipping interests. The development of iron and steel manufactures has been one of the chief marvels of the recent industrial progress of the United States. It has deprived English ship-builders of that marked superiority in the construction of iron ships which they acquired when the tonnage of the seas ceased to be largely constructed of timber. The building of the new navy has involved an enlargement of the plant and an improvement of the mechanical processes in shipyards. It has also reduced, as Chairman Herbert (Mr. Cleveland's efficient Secretary of the Navy) has admitted in his last naval report, at least 33 per cent. the cost of a ship of

[1] The original log-book is in the United States National Museum.

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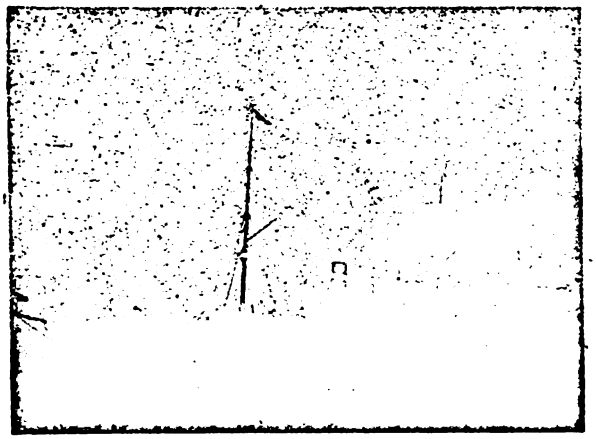
war. With this Democratic expert testimony on record, what enemy of American shipping will now venture to assert that the difference in first cost between a home-built and a foreign-built ship is so great that competition is impracticable? The building of the navy has cheapened the tonnage cost of ship-building, and supplied the plant and equipment requisite for the economical construction of a new merchant fleet.

"Moreover, the marvelous expansion of the nation's foreign commerce has supplied a volume of freighting and passenger business which encourages vigorous competition. During the last fiscal year that commerce amounted to $1,857,679,603, with freighting charges largely exceeding $200,000,000. That is a business of enormous proportions, of which American ship-owners now have a beggarly share. It is not from lack of business that the United States pays this tribute to foreign ship-owners. It is from lack of enterprise and ships, and from an unintelligible neglect of shipping interests. There is a freighting business of extraordinary magnitude awaiting a commercial marine under the American flag. The great markets opened abroad for farm products and manufactures, the remarkable increase of the import trade by the enlargement of the free schedules and the favorable effects of the negotiation of reciprocity treaties, offer a most favorable opportunity for the restoration of the merchant fleet.



STEAMER NEW-YORK.

"But it must not be forgotten that while the first cost of an iron ship has been greatly reduced, and while there is an immense freighting business inviting American competition, the high seas swarm with foreign ships manned by cheap labor, and to a large degree protected by subsidies and bounties, and by insurance discriminations and Lloyd's ratings. It is this difference in the operating expenses and insurance of an American in comparison with an English ship that has told more heavily against our marine than the difference in the first cost of tonnage. In order to overcome this disadvantage and to offset the bounties and subsidies of maritime Europe, the American government must adopt the English policy of liberal compensation for mail service. The conversion of the Inman into the American Line is the direct result of the passage of the Ocean Mail Subsidy Act, and of subsequent legislation authorizing the registry of two foreign-built ships. It denotes a reversion to that system of enlightened self-interest by which England, when free trade in freighting was proclaimed on the high seas, expended $250,000,000 in mail subventions during a single generation, and created a merchant marine, an auxiliary navy, and a commercial empire."

EDITOR.

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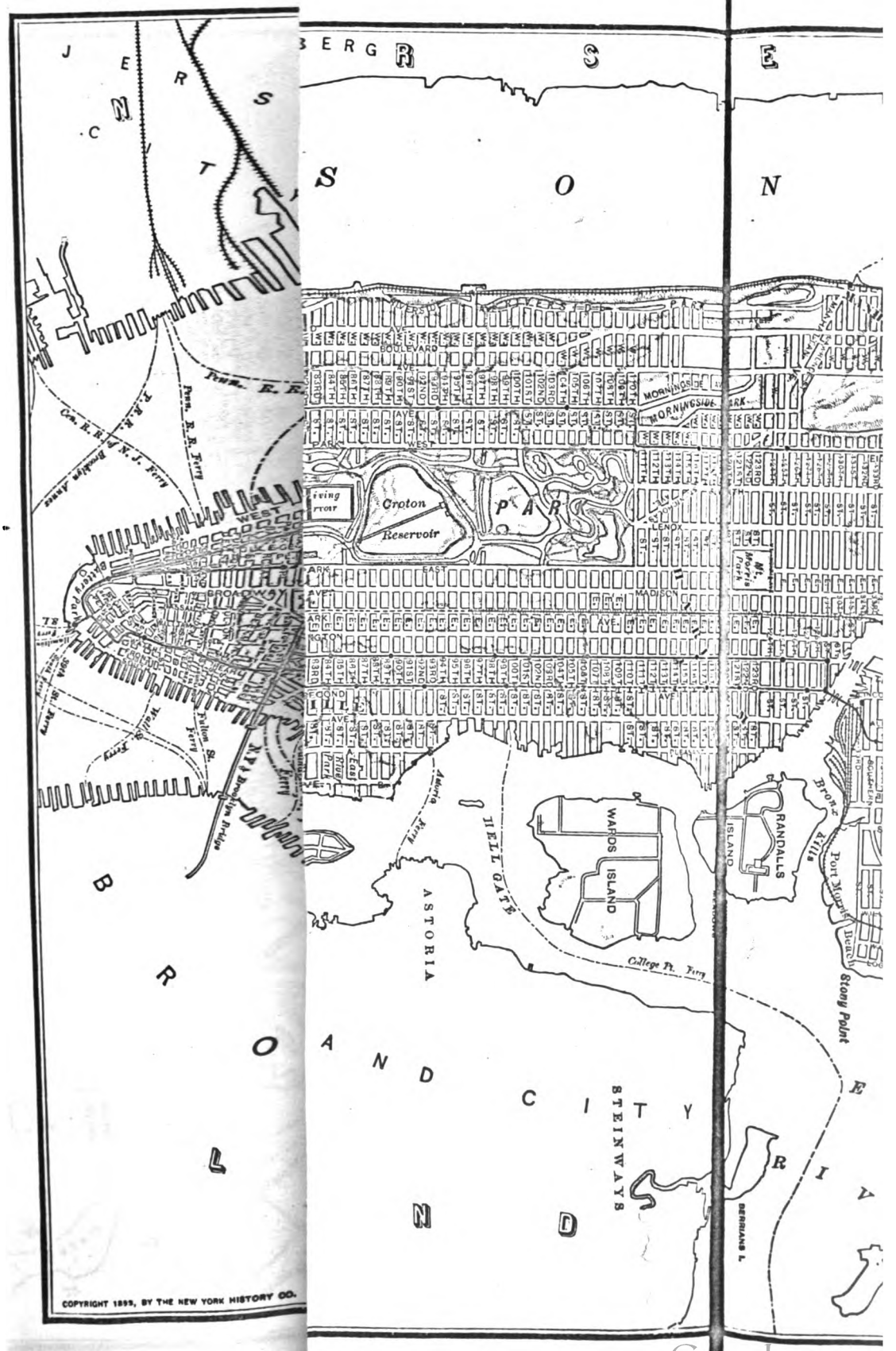

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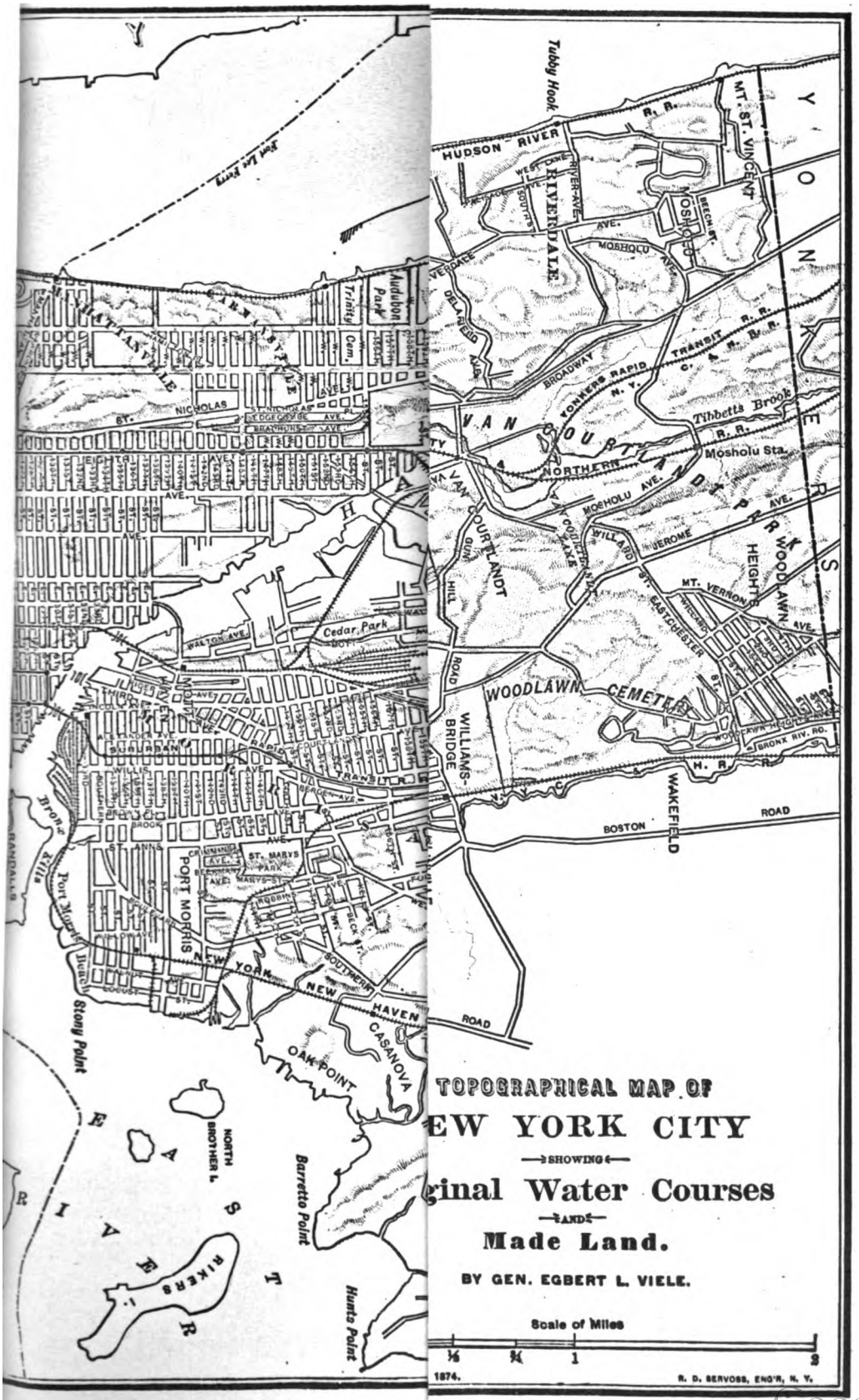

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CHAPTER XIX

TOPOGRAPHY OF NEW-YORK AND ITS PARK SYSTEM

THE city of New-York lies on the upturned edge of the vast primitive formation that extends from near the Gulf of Mexico to Canada, the basic rock being a spur of the Appalachian chain, a metamorphic rock that has been upheaved by convulsive action until its planes of stratification occupy a nearly vertical position. The original surface was very diversified in character, including level meadows, deep valleys, sharply projecting hills, and precipitous rocky cliffs, varying in height from tide-level to two hundred and fifty feet. In carrying out the plan of improvements, the greater portion of this immense surface is made to approximate to a general level, in order to give a low gradient to the streets and avenues. This process, however, has resulted in the stoppage of the old watercourses, by filling in the deep valleys of drainage to bring the surface to a level. Just how extensive were these old watercourses is shown by the following description: Commencing at the Battery and following the original topography, we find that, previous to the year 1695, an inlet, and subsequently a canal, ran through what is now Broad street as far as Exchange Place, with a branch running toward the west through Beaver street, afterward known as the Old Ditch. The main canal was crossed by two principal bridges, one at where is now Bridge street, and the other at Stone street, while at Beaver street there were two smaller bridges for foot-passengers. The Long Island ferry-house stood at the corner of New street and Exchange Place, the ferry-boat passing through the canal.

A little further north a stream ran through what is now Maiden Lane. Next above, where is now Ferry street, was Beekman's Park, a large tract of wet land, from which a stream ran into the East River. Next was the Collect Pond, a large body of fresh water said to have been seventy feet in depth, situated in the basin, the site of which is now occupied by the Tombs. On this small lake Fitch launched his first steamboat. A stream called the Wreck Brook ran from the Collect to the East River, through a low meadow; it emptied into the

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river at the foot of what is now Roosevelt street. There was formerly a bridge across this on the old road, which is now Park Row. The main outlet of the Collect was by a stream running to the North River, through the Lispenard swamp, which covered a very large surface, extending from Duane street on the south to Spring street. A large stone bridge crossed this stream at Canal street. In the year 1796 a project was submitted by two engineers to the city authorities for making a dock or basin of the Collect, as a safe harbor for shipping, and to carry off the water from that quarter by means of a ship-canal. This shows what an extensive affair this body of water was. So far back as 1805 a committee appointed to examine into the condition of the Collect Pond reported that it was filled with the bodies of dead animals, and was dangerous to the public health. It has now disappeared from view, but is more or less present in the soil—as is evidenced by the miasma which has proved so fatal to many poor wretches who have been arrested in a night's debauch, and thrown into the stone cells of the Tombs, never to awake from their drunken sleep.

LAKE IN THE CENTRAL PARK.

The next stream above the Collect, on the North River side, was called the Minetta water, originating in the neighborhood of University Place and Sixteenth street. It emptied into the Hudson near the foot of Hamersley street, passing through what is now Washington Square, and creating a great deal of swampy soil in its course. Where it crossed the old road near Eighth street, there was a bridge, and the stream was twelve feet wide at this point. It is now lost to sight, but very dear to the memory of some people, for it has caused a great many doctors' bills;—the physicians can trace the course of this stream by their practice in intermittent fevers. On the opposite side of the city were the Stuyvesant swamps, a very extensive area of low alluvial land, receiving the waters of numerous small streams. Tompkins Square lies in this region. The easterly side of the city is swampy all the way up from this locality to Kip's Bay. A considerable stream, creating a great deal of swampy land, received the drainage of Murray Hill and vicinity, passing through what is now Madison Square and Gramercy Park; so we see that there are five public squares

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situated, entirely or in part, in swamps, viz.: St. John's, Washington, Tompkins, Madison, and Gramercy. On the westerly side again we find a stream emptying into the Hudson at Thirty-second street and Eleventh Avenue, coming all the way from the Sixth Avenue, and pursuing a very tortuous course, and creating an abundance of swampy soil. Another at Forty-second street was of nearly the same character and extent.

In the more elevated portions of the island, as the topography becomes more intricate with higher hills and more extensive valleys, the watercourses increase in magnitude. The progress of street grading obstructed these streams, forming in all directions large deposits of stagnant water, engendering a corresponding amount of fever and ague, from which a large portion of the population of that section of the city suffered severely. A stream originating in a pond formerly in the neighborhood of Broadway, Eighth Avenue, and Sixty-second street, ran in a northwesterly direction, then turning, crossed the Central Park diagonally to the corner of Fifty-ninth street and Fifth Avenue; here a miserably constructed culvert partly obstructed and dammed back the water; crossing Fifty-ninth street, it passed under Fifth Avenue near Fifty-eighth street; then again crossing Fifty-ninth street, between Fourth and Fifth avenues, it passed under Fourth Avenue, between Fifty-eighth and Fifty-ninth streets; then crossing Fifty-eighth, Fifty-seventh, Fifty-sixth, and Fifty-fifth streets, between Third and Fourth avenues, it ran into a sewer at the junction of Third Avenue and Fifty-fourth street. A branch of this stream passed under the Arsenal, through a well-constructed conduit, and under Fifth Avenue and Sixty-fourth street, where it debouched to the surface, and crossed Sixty-third, Sixty-second, Sixty-first, and Sixtieth streets, joining the main stream at the junction of Fourth Avenue and Fifty-ninth street. Another large stream rose between Eighth and Ninth avenues, and ran easterly across the Central Park at Seventy-fourth street; passed under Fifth Avenue at Seventy-fourth street; then crossed Fourth Avenue and Third Avenue, between Seventy-fourth and Seventy-third streets; crossed and recrossed Seventy-fifth street, between Second and Third avenues; crossed Second Avenue, and then Seventy-fourth street, near First Avenue; crossed and recrossed Seventy-fourth street, between Avenue A and First Avenue; crossed Avenue A between Seventy-fourth and Seventy-fifth streets, and Avenue B between the same streets, and emptied itself into the East River. This stream was more than three miles long. The various turnings were caused by ledges of rocks. A large body of water passed through it, which at one time turned a mill, and the ground throughout its whole course was generally swampy.

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It is scarcely necessary to go on describing the courses of all the original streams. All these are fully shown on the topographical map of New-York which appears in this volume. These watercourses, which in their aggregate amounted to a very large volume of fresh water, were the sole supply for centuries to the aborigines, and also for the colonists, and in fact for the city until the construction of the water-works and the introduction of water from the Croton River. As the city increased in population, these streams were ruthlessly filled in, sometimes with the worst of refuse, under the false impression that they would thus disappear forever. Unfortunately for this theory, ignorantly believed in by otherwise intelligent engineers, these streams were supplied by perennial springs issuing from the primitive rock, and, in accordance with well-known laws, will continue to flow for an indefinite period. The earth thrown into the bed of these streams to raise their valleys to the common level of the streets must eventually become permanently saturated, rendering all dwellings built upon them damp, unwholesome, and unfit for occupation. Some of these streams probably have their rise at a long distance from the city, and find their way along the planes of stratification of the underlying rock, coming to the surface where a lateral fault crosses the strata. These lateral faults are generally the courses of the streams. In the description of the original topography of the Central Park, which follows, this matter is more fully explained.

THE public parks and pleasure-grounds of the city of New-York, dedicated for all time to the free use of the public, form not the least interesting feature of its topography, while their acquisition and construction are a no less prominent feature in its history. The park area already acquired and set apart for public use amounts in the aggregate to 5167.36 acres. Previous to the year 1853, the open-air spaces belonging to the city were of the most limited extent, consisting of a few vacant spaces in the general plan of the city, reserved here and there from the continuous series of rectilineal areas devoted to building purposes. These were of little use for breathing-places, since on all sides they would in time be surrounded by lofty structures, excluding the air, and in a large measure the sunlight; in fact, most of the ground so reserved was on the line of old watercourses, and therefore damp and unwholesome, and in the case of Washington Square, it had, in addition to this, been the Potter's Field, or pauper burying-ground, a ghastly resort for health and pleasure. Such was the condition of affairs when, on the 5th day of April, 1851, Ambrose

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C. Kingsland, mayor of the city, transmitted to the Board of Aldermen the following brief, pertinent, and business-like message, which, although written nearly half a century ago, exhibits such a comprehensive view of the future of the metropolis, and such a clear conception of the entire subject, that it is given in full as a just tribute to this far-seeing man:

TO THE HONORABLE THE COMMON COUNCIL.

Gentlemen: The rapid augmentation of our population, and the great increase in the value of property in the lower part of the city, justify me in calling the attention of your Honorable Body to the necessity of making some suitable provision for the wants of our citizens, who are thronging into the upper wards, which but a few years since were considered as entirely out of the city. It seems obvious to me that the entire tongue of land south of the line drawn across the Park is destined to be devoted, entirely and solely, to commercial purposes; and the Park and Battery, which were formerly favorite places of resort for pleasure and recreation for citizens whose residences were below that line, are now deserted. The tide of population is rapidly flowing to the northern section of the island, and it is here that provision should be made for the thousands whose dwellings will, ere long, fill up the vacant streets and avenues north of Union Park. The public places of New-York are not in keeping with the character of our city; nor do they in any wise subserve the purpose for which such places should be set apart. Each year will witness a certain increase in the value of real estate out of the city proper, and I do not know that any period will be more suitable than the present one for the purchase and laying out of a park on a scale which will be worthy of the city. There are places on the island easily accessible, and possessing all the advantages of wood, lawn, and water, which might, at a comparatively small expense, be converted into a park which would be at once the pride and ornament of the city. Such a park, well laid out, would become the favorite resort of all classes. There are thousands who pass the day of rest among the idle and dissolute, in porter-houses, or in places more objectionable, who would rejoice in being enabled to breathe the pure air in such a place, while the ride and drive through its avenues, free from the noise, dust, and confusion inseparable from all thoroughfares, would hold out strong inducements for the affluent to make it a place of resort. There is no park on the island deserving the name, and while I cannot believe that any one can be found to advance an objection against the expediency of having such a one in our midst, I think that the expenditure of a sum necessary to procure and lay out a park of sufficient magnitude to answer the purposes above noted, would be well and wisely appropriated, and would be returned to us fourfold, in the health, happiness, and comfort of those whose interests are specially intrusted to our keeping — the poorer classes. The establishment of such a park would prove a lasting monument to the wisdom, sagacity, and forethought of its founders, and would secure the gratitude of thousands yet unborn, for the blessings of pure air, and the opportunity for innocent, healthful enjoyment. I commend this subject to your consideration, in the conviction that its importance will insure your careful attention and prompt action.

A. C. KINGSLAND, Mayor.

Public opinion was at once aroused to the great importance of this subject. Andrew J. Downing, a prominent landscape-gardener and the editor of a horticultural journal, increased the interest in the subject by the publication of a well-timed article showing the great ad-

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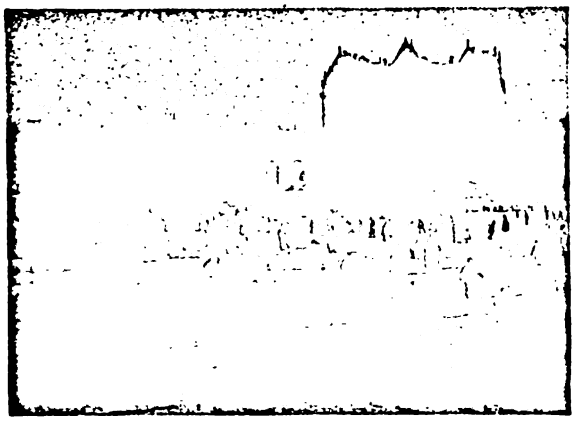
vantage in this respect possessed by the different capitals of Europe. The matter having been thus opened for discussion, it was not suffered to rest. Of course, rival interests began to develop, as is usual under such circumstances, legislative committees were appointed, and majority and minority reports followed, as might have been expected. Laws were passed involving the acquisition of the land for two large parks, one in the center and one on the east side of the city—one called the Central Park, and the other the Jones' Woods Park. One was almost barren, the other heavily wooded. Finally the Jones' Woods Park Bill was repealed, and commissioners appointed to acquire the land for a central park, bounded east and west by Fifth and Eighth avenues, and south and north by Fifty-ninth and One Hundred and Sixth streets. In due time the land was acquired, and in 1856, five years after the first suggestion of Mayor Kingsland, the city authorities took possession of the land for improvement. When the magnitude and novelty of this great public enterprise are considered, together with the want of that general knowledge and appreciation of the subject which is now so happily overcome by experience and education, it is a marvel that it was accomplished so soon.



WINTER SCENE IN CENTRAL PARK.

The area thus designated for a park was apparently perhaps the most unpropitious that could have been selected for such a purpose on the whole continent. It was for the most part a succession of stone-quarries interspersed with pestiferous swamps. The entire ground was the refuge of about five thousand squatters, dwelling in rude huts of their own construction, and living off the refuse of the city, which they daily conveyed in small carts, chiefly drawn by dogs, from the lower part of the city through Fifth Avenue (then a dirt road running over hills and hollows). This refuse they divided among themselves and a hundred thousand domestic animals and fowls, reserving the bones for the bone-boiling establishments situated within the area. Horses, cows, swine, goats, dogs, cats, geese, and chickens swarmed everywhere, destroying what little verdure they found. Even the roots in the ground were exterminated until the rocks were laid bare, giving an air of utter desolation to the scene, made more repulsive from the odors of the decaying organic matter which accumulated in

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the beds of the old watercourses that ramified the surface in all directions, broadening out into reeking swamps wherever their channels were intercepted. These people who had thus overrun and occupied the territory were principally of foreign birth, with but very little knowledge of the English language, and with very little respect for the law. Like the ancient Gauls, they wanted land to live on, and they took it; and, like the Gauls, they prepared to defend their occupancy at the very suggestion of its invasion, no matter by whom. Such was the danger of the situation, that the designer of the park was compelled to go armed while making his studies, and, in addition to this, to carry an ample supply of deodorizers.

The general principles of the design or plan of improvement were based upon the original topography of the surface, for the double reason that such is the true basis of landscape art, and also the most economical method. To ascertain the original topography was, under the circumstances, a matter of no little difficulty, requiring both courage and skill, as well as a hardy constitution. Weeks and months were consumed in this task, requiring always the keeping in mind of what might possibly be created with the aid of ever-responsive nature out of such unsightly and discouraging surroundings. In the mean while the necessary legal action was being perfected to secure the improvement of the ground. An ordinance was passed designating the mayor of the city and the commissioner of streets as the authorized agents for this purpose. With a wisdom and unselfishness not always manifested, these officials decided to call to their aid the three most prominent citizens of New-York, eminent not only in their unsullied reputation for probity and honor, but distinguished in the highest degree for literary culture and refined taste. These men were Washington Irving, George Bancroft, and William Cullen Bryant; several others were invited who were unable to attend. With zeal and diligence these gentlemen entered upon the discharge of the duties they were asked to perform, and after careful and earnest deliberation in the examination and study of numerous designs laid before them, and after listening with patience to the views of the several designers, and to all others who offered their advice or opinions, the board gave their unanimous approval of the design of Egbert L. Viele. It was therefore adopted, and to Mr. (afterward General) Viele was assigned the duty of converting this cheerless waste into a scene of rural beauty in accordance with his design.

It was evident from the peculiar character and condition of the ground that the very first step necessary to be taken was that which would secure its salubrity, the most essential element of a public park. The problems that presented themselves in the investigation of this important question were serious and complicated, involving an exam-

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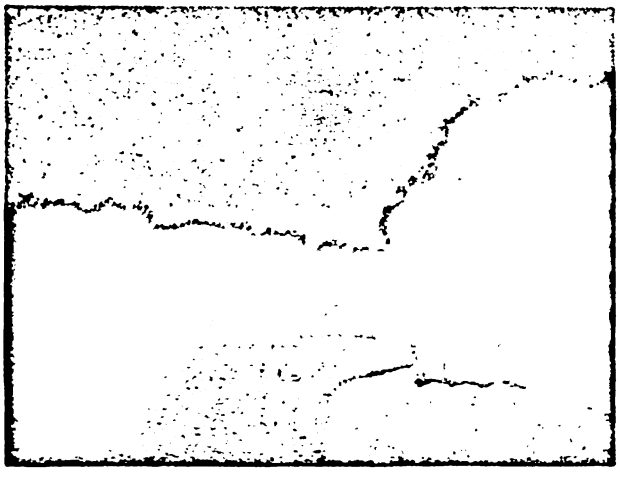
ination of the topography and geology of the greater portion of Manhattan Island. The results of this examination as connected with the question of drainage were so startling in their character as to lead to a large public meeting of citizens irrespective of party. So utterly had this matter been ignored in the past in its relation to public improvements, that the city was threatened with evils of a permanent nature that would not only increase with time, but would become sooner or later irremediable. It was found that a number of the old watercourses crossed the park area in all directions. Many of them were fed by springs within the limits; one stream half a mile long was fed by twenty living springs in the park itself. To control the inflow and secure the outflow of this water was an important problem to be solved by the designer of the park. The alarm created by the facts involved in the preliminary examination produced, however, far-reaching and beneficial results, even national in their character; for they have extended over the entire country, materially affecting the health and happiness of all the people. The danger to the public health arising from past neglect, and the action of the meeting of the citizens, led to the forming of a public health association, followed by similar action in other cities, and then to the establishment, through legal enactment, of boards of health in the cities, the States, and finally a national board of health at the seat of government. Until that time a board of health was unknown and unthought of, but the unquestioned connection between nearly all the zymotic diseases and soil made unwholesome from excess of moisture, united with the wide-spread ignorance or indifference of municipal officers on this subject, made prompt action imperative in the interest of humanity. Thus the promoters of the Central Park builded better than they knew.



LAKE AND BOW BRIDGE, CENTRAL PARK.

So attractive, so beneficial, and so popular has the Central Park become, and so thoroughly educated are the people as to its orderly use, in spite of all predictions to the contrary, that the action of the city of New-York in this wise provision for the public has been imitated by nearly every city in the United States. Not only this, but New-

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York itself, under the guidance of experience, has added very largely to its park area, and to-day it is the rival in this respect of all other large cities. The salubrity of the ground being secured, the next question that presented itself was such a judicious arrangement of the plan as to provide for the ample enjoyment of its benefits by all classes and conditions of society, and such rural embellishments as would afford the most striking contrasts to its artificial surroundings. All this was done, and as an evidence that it was well done is the fact that when, several years after its adoption by its distinguished sponsors, liberal premiums were offered for improvements on the plan, the conditions were absolute that the general features of the plan should not be changed. Twenty-five out of the thirty-three plans submitted under this liberal offer were close copies of the original, with chiefly unimportant modifications.

These general features were as follows: *First.* A principal road or drive, which shall in its entire extent embrace every feature of importance within the limits, and every prominent view without. This drive to be wide enough to admit of its being used by a large number and variety of vehicles at the same time, and not so long as to necessitate the passing over the same ground twice. *Second.* Another drive, secluded in its character, to be used by such persons as desire to be more retired. *Third.* Certain roads devoted to equestrians to the exclusion of vehicles. *Fourth.* Certain walks devoted exclusively to pedestrians. *Fifth.* Certain transverse roads at convenient distances, to allow of an easy transit across the park for business and other purposes. *Sixth.* A cricket-ground for the encouragement of and an indulgence in athletic and manly sports. *Seventh.* Spaces devoted to botanical and horticultural purposes.

It is to be regretted, however, that during the years that have elapsed since the park was begun, so many features of a strictly architectural character have been allowed to encroach upon its natural beauties. Some of those designed by Mr. Wrey Mould are pleasing adjuncts to the general effect, but there is much that is the reverse. The landscape-gardeners Pilat and Fischer exercised great skill and taste in the original planting, but nature requires an equal amount of skill and taste in judicious pruning. This is a point that must always be kept in view; the most beautiful work of nature or of art is destroyed by neglect. The park system consists of a series of large parks devoted to the use of all classes, riding, driving, or walking, and a series of smaller parks for the use of pedestrians only. They are as follows: Pelham Bay Park, 1756 acres; Van Cortlandt Park, 1132.35 acres; Central Park, 839.94 acres; Bronx Park, 661 acres; Riverside Park, 177 acres; Crotona Park, 141 acres; Bronx and Pelham Parkway, 95 acres; Mosholu Park, 80 acres; Claremont Park, 38.05 acres;

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Morningside Park, 31.23 acres; St. Mary's Park, 28.70 acres; High Bridge, 23.38 acres; Mount Morris Park, 20.17 acres; Cedar Park, 17.47 acres; East River Park, 12.54 acres; Crotona Parkway, 12 acres; Tompkins Square, 10.50 acres; City Hall Park, 8.23 acres; Madison Square, 6.84 acres; Reservoir Park, 4.77 acres; Stuyvesant Square, 4.22 acres; Union Square, 3.48 acres; Bowling Green, .51 acre; Battery, .27 acre; Abingdon Square, .20 acre; Manhattan Square included in Central Park. The total area of New-York parks (25), 5167 acres; while that of Paris, including Bois de Boulogne and Bois de Vincennes, 4565 acres; and the total of London parks, 1442 acres.

A great desideratum in connection with the park development of New-York is about to be accomplished, and that is the establishment of a botanical garden on a scale so broad and so ample that it must prove not only a valuable addition to the park system as a place of recreation and pleasure, but also an addendum to the free educational system of the city. An association of well-known and public-spirited citizens was organized under legislative enactment to carry the plans to completion. After the association shall have acquired the sum of $250,000 to be applied to this purpose, the city authorities are directed to set aside 250 acres of land in Bronx Park for the use of the association, and an appropriation of $500,000 is authorized for the erection of suitable buildings that shall embrace all the necessary appliances, including a hall for lectures. When these plans shall be completed, New-York will possess the finest botanical garden in the world.

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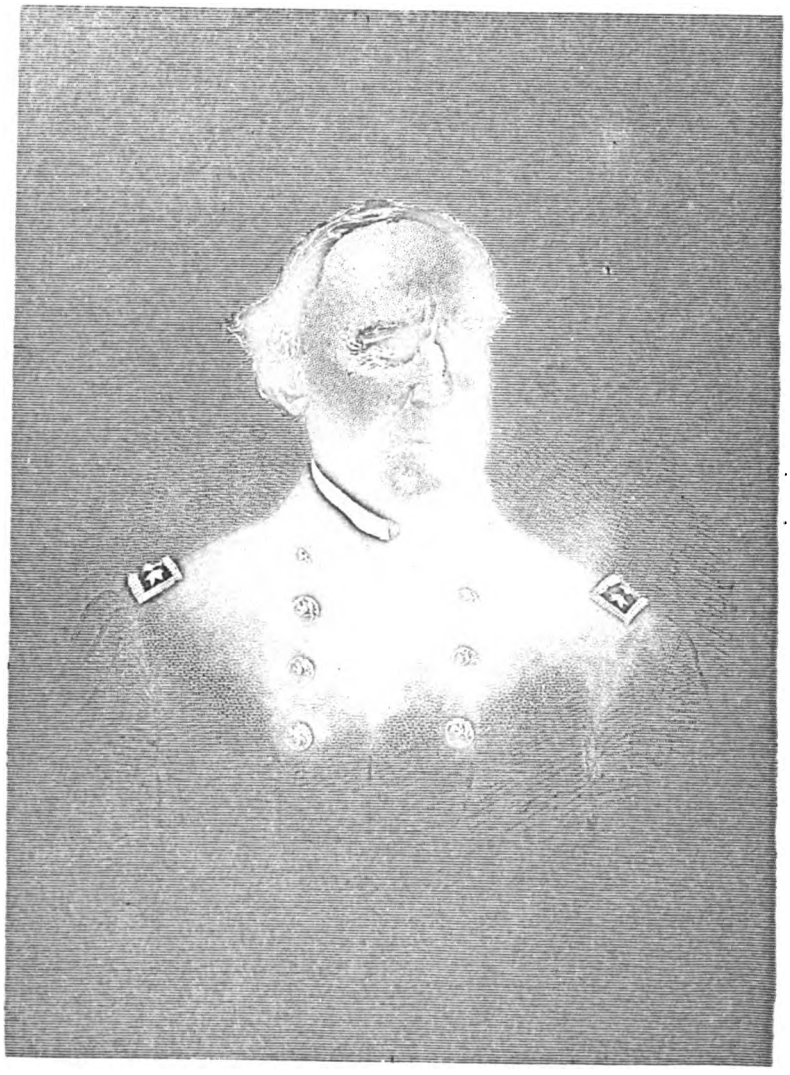

D. E. Sumner

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CHAPTER XX

THE UNITED STATES NAVY-YARD AT NEW-YORK

THE Navy-Yard of the United States in the port and harbor of New-York is situated upon Wallabout Bay, an indentation in the coast of Long Island, and now lying well within the city limits of Brooklyn. It is opposite to the foot of Grand street, in New-York city, and consequently also to Corlear's Hook—or, as it is familiarly known to older New-Yorkers, The Hook—the angle of Manhattan Island outlined by the course of the East River, which here changes direction abruptly from east a little northerly to due north. To the projection, or salient angle, thus formed on Manhattan Island, corresponds, on Long Island, a recession or reëntrant angle; and at the head of the latter, encroaching with wide crescent sweep upon the land, is found the deep bend to which, for near two hundred and fifty years, has been applied the name Wallabout, or Waal-bogt, the Dutch original whence the modern word has been corrupted. At the time of the first settlement by the Dutch, and for some years afterward, the newcomers were content to call their bay by the name given to the surrounding country by its original owners. It was then known as the "boght" of Mareckawick, the latter word signifying in the Indian tongue "the sandy place," and being applied generally to the ground on which Brooklyn now stands. The name Waal-bogt, or Wahle-boght, first appears upon the colonial records in the year 1656, although it had doubtless been in colloquial use for some time before. It has commonly been ascribed to the Waals, or Walloons, numbers of whom from the Low Countries are said to have settled here subsequently to the year 1637. According to this derivation, the word would signify the bay of the Walloons. This rendering, dependent mainly upon tradition, has been disputed: a modern scholar preferring to attribute the compound name to the two Dutch words "waal" and "boght," together meaning the bend of the inner harbor. Whichever be correct, English-speaking seamen will remark with interest the identity of the term "boght" with the familiar "bight," applied by them indifferently to any

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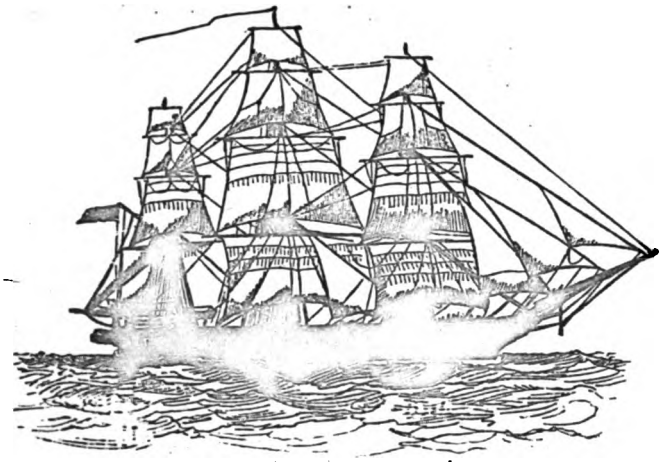
loop or reëntrant curve, whether it be the bight of a rope or a bight in a shore-line. Never has the word been more aptly bestowed than upon the Wallabout, which in its natural condition was simply a deep bight in the coast of Long Island.

In its primitive state, the Waal-bogt, when the first Dutch colonists settled upon its borders, seems to have presented the same general features that are yet to be observed along the shores of Staten Island and New Jersey, about Bergen Point and Newark Bay: features which may likewise be noted in old maps of Manhattan Island made before the extension of the city had covered the soil above Wall street. The high ground which to the southward and westward of the navy-yard is still to be recognized in the sharp decline of the Brooklyn streets toward the East River, fell away with more or less rapidity, and with irregular contour, to the level of the Wallabout Bay, terminating then in salt-marshes intersected by tidal creeks. Most of the latter were too short to be important; but one, known as the Wallabout Creek, emptying into the northeastern part of the bay, was of considerable length, admitting small vessels for quite a distance. Its use was therefore carefully reserved, as a right of way, in the various cessions to the United States, whether made by grant or by sale. Between this creek and the line of the bay, which made with it an acute angle, was a long point of moderately high land, bordered by marshes. This was not included in the original purchase of the navy-yard, but was subsequently acquired by the government as a site for the Naval Hospital.



FRIGATE CONSTELLATION.[1]

The ebbing and flowing of the tide in the North and East rivers, that on either side bound Manhattan Island, depend upon the common estuary, New-York Bay, by which they communicate with the sea. The tidal current, therefore, though alike in general direction for both, becomes greatly accelerated when, in moving to and from

[1] The oldest vessel in the American navy, and the last of the six frigates built near the close of the past century. In her Commodore Truxton won his famous victory in 1799, and another in the year following. "Old Ironsides" still exists, but in an unseaworthy condition. EDITOR.

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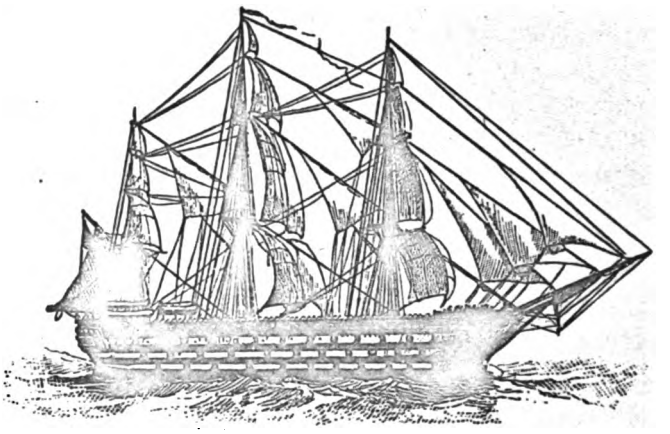
the bay, it passes through the narrow and restricted channel of the East River. The speed of the stream, as it rushes along, following the trend of the river-banks, hurries it by the Wallabout, which, while sharing the rise and fall of the water, is withdrawn by its configuration from the impetuous velocity of the main current. In the first careful official survey, made in 1808, this plot is marked "Bare at low water." Upon it, after 1843, was gradually developed, by crib-work and filling in, what is now known as the Cob Dock, which, little by little, has covered the entire area. On the land side, the Wallabout Channel was for the most part bordered by broad flats, so that, although the rise and fall of the tide is but five or six feet, a width of over three hundred yards intervened between the lines of high and low water. Until redeemed, as it since has been, such a waste space between firm land and deep water would be a fatal objection to the site as one for building and repairing ships, although the slackness of the current presented advantages for a ship-yard, and especially for launching. Fortunately, however, on the west, or lower, side of the bay, the solid ground for a short distance skirted the channel, and at low tide a depth of three fathoms was found near to the shore. At this point, therefore, ships could be constructed close to the water's edge, and but little difficulty or expense would be found in extending the ways, upon which they rested while building, as far as was necessary for their safety in launching. Accordingly, here a modest ship-yard had been established, and ships built and launched, prior to the time when the United States agents, toward the close of the year 1800, cast their eyes upon the property as suitable for a navy-yard.



LINE-OF-BATTLE SHIP PENNSYLVANIA.

It was the shelter afforded from the strength of the tide, and especially during the winter season, when the bay and rivers of New-York are filled with floating ice, that first brought the Wallabout prominently forward in connection with the history of our country. Even now, it is a curious and impressive sight, often witnessed from the sea-wall of the navy-yard, to watch the packs of broken ice, ground from the frozen fields formed far away up the Hudson, as they

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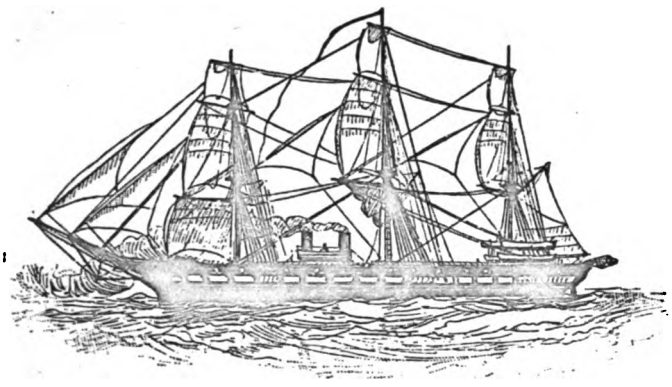
sweep headlong in dense masses past the front of the Wallabout. They enter the latter also to some extent, it is true, causing thereby much inconvenience; but they do so with a motion so slow, compared to the outside rush, that the contrast is like that between drifting in a calm and the impetuous movement of a mill-race. This condition led to Wallabout Bay being chosen by the British as the winter anchorage for their vessels, and especially for those laid up in ordinary. There is no crushing force in the East River ice; but both there and in the lower bay the sharp edges of the cakes, as they scrape by with the current, will tear off copper, rip oakum from the exposed seams, and must in former days have worn hardly upon the hemp cables which alone were then used, the iron chains that have supplanted them being of a much later date. Few ships, also, were then coppered, so that even this slight protection was not afforded against the constant grinding and scratching of the packs. For these reasons vessels whose services were not in immediate demand were moored in the Wallabout, which thus became the abode of the hospital-ships and of those monsters of evil report, the horrible and dreaded British prison-ships of the American Revolution. More than one of those unclean birds probably still lie buried under the mud of the bight; and on the first survey of the yard, made by officers of the United States navy in 1808, there appears in dotted outline the "Jersey Prison-ship," whose foul name has come down to us as the exponent of her kind, one among several whose names, though not wholly forgotten, have missed her hideous immortality. Worn out by decay and neglect, the old ship of the line, that had once carried her colors nobly into battle, here sunk at her anchors, covered with execration. The spot where she is shown in the plan mentioned had at that time thirteen feet of water. It has long since been buried under the made land by which the sea-wall of the navy-yard has been advanced to the channel of the Wallabout.



STEAM FRIGATE FRANKLIN.

Little change took place between the departure of the British and the acquisition of the yard site by the United States in 1801. The general character and contour of the spot have already been described. There remains to mention a particular detail, which at that time con-

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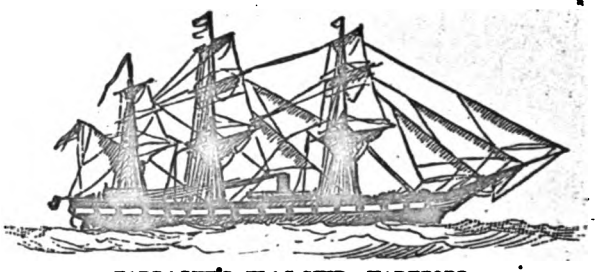
tributed much to the local coloring and bore its share in the current incidents of those days of trial, while later it had an effect upon the course of the yard's development in the hands of the government. It has already been said that toward the western end of the Wallabout Channel, solid ground extended to navigable water. From near the point where this ground began to recede to the southward, leaving thenceforth the flats to border the channel, a long, narrow island stretched in a southeasterly direction, rising not only above the flats, but also somewhat above the level of high tide. Being over fifteen hundred feet long, it reached almost to the high-water line on the south side of the bay. Thus this natural embankment nearly inclosed the waters that at flood-tide rose between it and the land. With a little labor the inclosure had been completed, forming a pond, and supplying the motive power to run one of the tide-mills which in the last century were so frequently found in the neighborhood of Brooklyn. The water, having been freely admitted during the period of rise, was shut in until the falling tide had caused a sufficient difference of level to insure a rapid current through the flume. Then, permitted to escape, the rush of the stream turned the mill-wheel and ground the corn.



FARRAGUT'S FLAG-SHIP, HARTFORD.

On December 19, 1800, the Secretary of the Navy authorized an agent to purchase a piece of land on the Wallabout owned by John Jackson, and upon which he had established a ship-yard, "if title is perfectly clear and if it will answer to build and launch ships of the largest size, . . . provided you do not give more than $20,000." On January 13 next, he writes to "let the business be closed at once, lest a report I am making to Congress operate to enhance the price." The bargain was closed February 7, 1801, forty thousand dollars being the consideration. In 1804 the government purchased thirty-five acres more, upon which was subsequently erected a hospital; the price paid was seven thousand six hundred and fifty dollars. Twenty years elapsed before these early purchases were joined together by the acquisition for federal purposes of an intervening strip of land between Flushing Avenue and the water-front. In March, 1807, the final piece of land near Little street was purchased for ninety thousand dollars, completing the present site of the navy-yard at a total expenditure of $426,707.50. It is only practicable here to give a résumé of the development of this important naval station. Its first commandant was Lieutenant Jonathan Thorne, who was detailed in 1801, and

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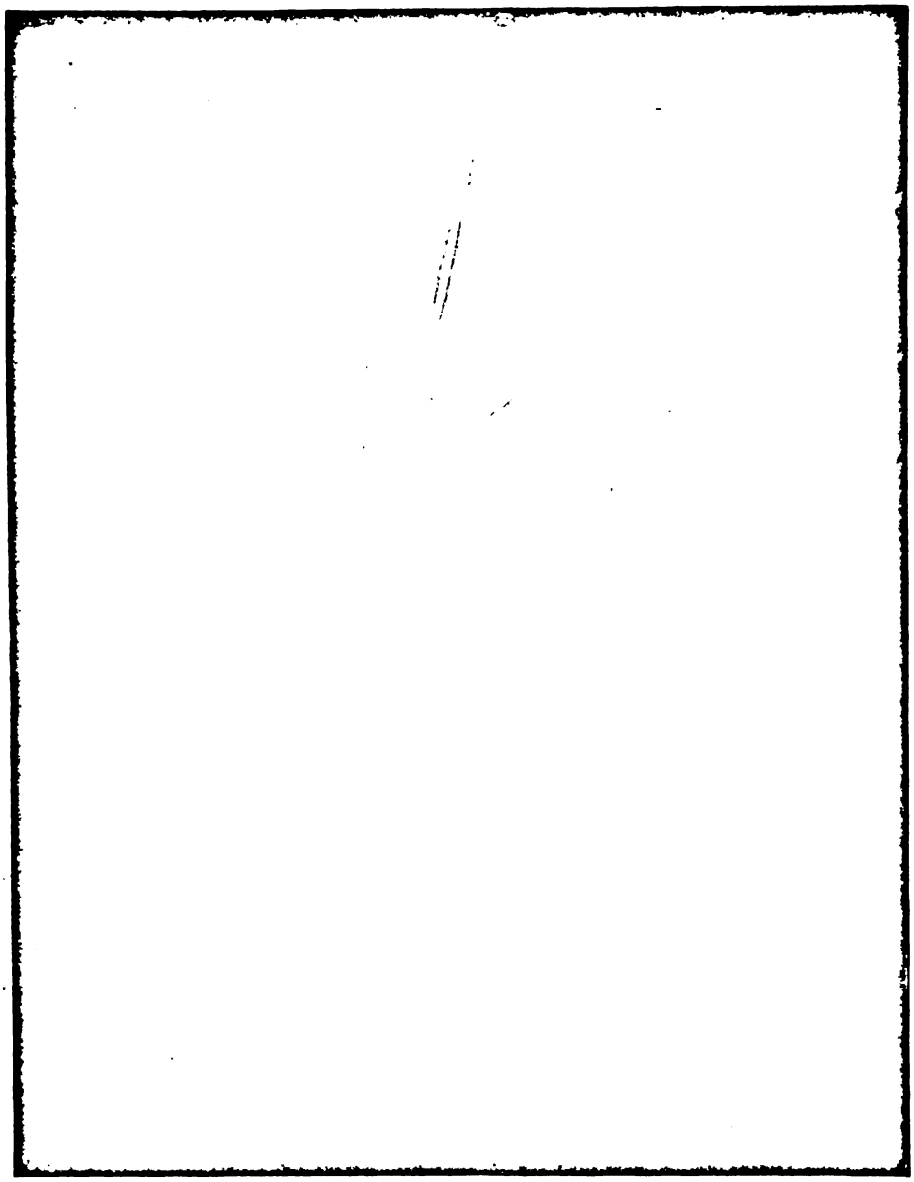
remained in charge until 1806. He was succeeded by Captain Isaac Chauncey, who assumed command August 1, 1807. During his administration certain permanent improvements were commenced—notably



FARRAGUT IN THE SHROUDS OF THE HARTFORD.[1]

a house for the commandant, and six brick buildings for officers and the storage of supplies. The complement of the yard, September 15,

[1] The original of this picture of Farragut in the famous Mobile Bay fight was painted by William Page, and presented by patriotic American citizens, chiefly of New-York, to the Emperor of Russia, in recognition of his aid and sympathy during the war of the Rebellion. EDITOR.

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1807, consisted of "1 captain, 1 clerk of the yard, 1 boatswain, 1 gunner, 1 armorer and 2 ordinary seamen."

The distance from the seat of government in those days devolved great responsibility upon the senior American naval officer in the port of New-York. This was well illustrated when, in December, 1807, Captain Chauncey received a copy of the act of Congress laying a general embargo.[1] Without specific instructions from the Navy Department, he consulted with the collector of the port, Mr. Gelston, and proceeded to enforce the law by sending four gunboats to the Narrows to stop vessels wishing to put to sea, at the same time advising the department of his action, expressing the fear that he had been too zealous in view of threatened complications—"gunboats have stopped some vessels determined to proceed at all hazards." His action was, however, approved by the authorities. It is evident also from the records of the yard at this time that the official relations between the marine officers and those of the navy were not well defined, the case of Lieutenant (long after Colonel Commandant) Henderson, of the marine corps then stationed at the yard, who refused to obey the orders of Captain Chauncey, being a case in point. The enterprise and sharp eye for the interests of the government possessed by this sterling sailor led him to urge the department to authorize the construction at the navy-yard of part of the twenty-three gunboats to be built at New-York; believing that he could "build them as well and somewhat cheaper." A shrewd suggestion appears in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy stating that the corporation of New-York having inquired if he would employ seamen who might apply to the city for support, he had agreed "to take 300, provided the men will sign articles subjecting themselves to navy discipline, the corporation holding themselves responsible for their subsistence, at 20 cents *per diem*. Hope for your approbation, for we shall then have the services of these people without any expense, not even victuals."[2] Chauncey's recommendation that most of the gunboats ordered should be built at the yard was approved, and upon their completion they were added to the "Home Squadron" under the famous Captain John Rodgers, who in 1805 dealt the slave-trade a severe blow, and in the second war with Great Britain was foremost in upholding the honor of his flag.

In 1812 Chauncey was relieved by Captain Samuel W. Evans, who continued in command of the yard until his death, June 2, 1824. During the early part of his administration, great activity prevailed in fitting out vessels for war service—more than one hundred report-

[1] On the receipt of despatches from Minister Armstrong, at Paris, containing information about the new interpretation of the Berlin decree and also of the British orders in council, President Jefferson (October 25, 1807) sent a message to Congress recommending the passage of an embargo act—"an inhibition of the departure of our vessels from the United States." The act was passed December 22, 1807; it was repealed in 1809. ("Harper's Cyclopedia of United States History.")

[2] Letter to Navy Department, January 5, 1808.

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ing at this station, 1812–14. Among the ships built there later was (1815) the steam frigate Fulton, 30 guns and 2000 tons; she was built after plans by Robert Fulton, and could scald an enemy with hot water or set fire to him with hot shot at will. Her first commander was Captain David Porter (father of the late admiral). While lying at the navy-yard in 1828, the Fulton's magazine exploded, killing one officer and forty-seven men. In 1820 the Ohio, 74, was built after a model by Henry Eckford. After a long and honorable service on the ocean, this vessel became the receiving-ship at Boston. In 1822 another ship, the Savannah, was begun, but was not completed until 1852. Upon the death of Evans, Captain Isaac Chauncey was again assigned to command the station, remaining until 1833, when he was appointed a member of the Board of Navy Commissioners.

During the year 1827 the peaceful routine of the yard was disturbed by a dispute as to the right of the government to erect a fence near the foot of Sands street, and a riot was only averted by the influence and discretion of the commandant, who induced the hot-headed citizens to await the decision of the proper tribunals, and the claim of the United States was finally admitted. In 1833, under the administration of Captain Charles G. Ridgeley, the Naval Lyceum building was erected; part of this structure has long been appropriated to the purposes of a library, reading-room, and museum, to which from time to time it has been the practice of naval officers returning from long cruises to contribute curios and trophies of war, also books about the navy. During the period from November, 1839, to 1841, Captain James Renshaw commanded the yard. In the year last mentioned the great stone dry dock was begun, its construction being supervised in turn by the able engineers Courtenay, McNeil, Sanger, McAlpine, and Stuart, under whom it was completed in August, 1851. Its dimensions are two hundred and eighty-six feet long by thirty-five feet wide at the bottom; three hundred and seven feet long by ninety-eight feet wide at the top; and depth, thirty-six feet. The material of the walls is fine cut granite. The masonry foundations are four hundred by one hundred and twenty feet, resting upon piles driven forty feet into the earth, the intermediate space being filled to a depth of two feet with a mass of concrete. Timbers one foot square are next doweled to the heads of these piles, between which concrete is again filled in. Upon this is laid a plank floor, four hundred by one hundred feet, on which rests another layer of timbers and concrete, and over this, first, a course of stone

M C Perry

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flagging twenty inches thick, and, second, the floor proper of fine cut granite; the whole bed, from the surface of the floor to the head of the piles, being nine feet in thickness. The dock can be emptied by steam-pumps in four and one half hours. The total cost was $2,113,173.[1]

Navy Yard Brooklyn March 24th 1862 U.S. Steamer

To our Dear and Honored Captain

Sir this first line is from your own crew of the Monitor with their kindest love to you their Honored Captain hoping to that that you will have the pleasure of welcoming your crew back to you again soon for we are all ready able and willing to meet death or any thing else only give us back our own Captain again dear Captain we have got your cabin boy fixed and all ready for you when you get well again and we all sincerely hope that soon we will have the pleasure of welcoming you back to it again for since you left us we have had no pleasure on board of the Monitor we once was happy on board of our little Monitor but since you left you we have Lost one all that was dear to us still we are waiting praying & hoping to engage our antagonist if we could only get a chance to do so the last time she came out we all thought we would have the chance of sinking her but we all got disappointed for we did not fire one shot and the Norfolk papers says we are cowards in the Monitor and all we want is a chance to show them what we are made of so with you for our Captain we can teach them who is cowards but there is a great deal that we would like to say to you but we think you will soon be with us again yourself But we all join in with our kindest Love to you hoping that God will restore you to us again and hoping that your sufferings is at an end and we are all so glad to hear that your eye sight will be spared to you again we should write a great deal more to you if we have your permission to do so but at present we all conclude by sending to you our kindest Love and affection to our dear and Honored Captain

We Remain until death your affectionate Crew

The Monitor Boys [2]

During the administration of Captain Renshaw, four vessels were launched—among them the Somers, famous for the attempt at mutiny, and the hanging at the yard-arm of Midshipman Spencer, the son of the Secretary of War,—forming a historic illustration of the inflexibility of naval discipline and the absolute independence of the "ancient mariner" when afloat and upon his own quarter-deck.

Captain Matthew C. Perry, of Japan expedition celebrity, commanded here from 1841 to 1843, during which period but one ship—the ill-fated Albany—was added to the list. Commander Joshua Sands

[1] "History of Kings County," by Dr. Henry R. Stiles, Brooklyn, 2 vols., 1884.

[2] The struggle with the Monitor was the last exploit of the Merrimac, a ship whose formidable character excited, for the moment, the greatest apprehension at Washington, New-York, and other Northern ports. The reduced fac-simile of the letter sent by the crew of the Monitor to her captain after the successful contest with the Merrimac now appears, it is believed, for the first time. EDITOR.

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temporarily succeeded Perry, and was relieved by Captain Silas Stringham, who remained until 1846, when Captain Isaac McKeever took charge, being followed (1849) by Captain William B. Salter, who witnessed the completion of the dry dock and auxiliary structures. In October, 1852, Captain Charles Boorman assumed command. During his tour of duty at the yard, the steam frigate Niagara was built, under the superintendence of the late George Steers. This vessel was employed in laying the first Atlantic cable, and finally was laid up, after an honorable career, at the Boston yard. In 1855 Captain Abraham Bigelow succeeded Boorman, and sixteen months thereafter Captain Lawrence Kearney arrived, remaining until October, 1858.

Captain Samuel L. Breese assumed charge of the yard in October, 1858, and witnessed the opening of the stirring war period. It became his duty to take precautions to defend his post from a threatened attack by Southern sympathizers, and by his wise and vigilant arrangements the enemy was foiled. From November, 1861, to May, 1865, the gallant Rear-Admiral Hiram Paulding commanded the yard and superintended the work of preparation for many of the successful operations on the water. "During a portion of this period the wharves were never left without vessels fitting for sea and preparing for blockade duty, and the sound of hammers was heard by day and night. Four hundred and sixteen vessels were purchased from the commercial marine and fitted out as cruisers. During 1861 there were employed, daily, an average of 1650 men, at an expense for the year, for labor only, of $679,000. In 1862 the average daily employment for labor was 3970 persons, at an expenditure of more than $2,000,000. The average during 1863 was 5135 laborers, at a cost of $2,874,000 for the year. During 1864 the roll had increased until at one time there were over 6000 persons employed; but the average that year was 5390, and the year's wages, $3,735,000. During 1865 no less than 5000 persons were employed daily, at a cost of $3,952,000."[1] During Paulding's term the famous Monitor was fitted out and despatched to the scene of her world-heralded exploit in Hampton Roads. Rear-Admiral Charles A. Bell came to the yard in 1865, and was followed (January 30, 1868) by Rear-Admiral Sylvanus W. Godon. On May 23, 1870, the United States ceded to the city of Brooklyn a strip of land on the northeast side of its property, since forming the street that fronts on Kent Avenue. Rear-Admiral Melancton Smith arrived in October, 1870, and was in turn relieved—June, 1872—by Vice-Admiral Stephen C. Rowan, who remained until September, 1876. Under his supervision the building intended for the use of recruits, and containing modern conveniences for their physical and mental improvement, was erected. Rowan was succeeded (1876) by Commodore James W. G. Nicholson;

[1] From an address before the Long Island Historical Society by Commodore J. W. G. Nicholson.

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he (1880) by Rear-Admiral George H. Cooper; and the latter by Commodore John H. Upshur. The term of Commodore Upshur (1882–84), who was in the latter year promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral, was unmarked by any important events. In 1885 Commodore Ralph Chandler was assigned to the command. During his incumbency the work of dredging the Wallabout channel and Cob Dock basin was commenced, and in his annual report the Secretary of the Navy said that "at no place are additional docking facilities more necessary than at this our most important yard." Among other items estimated for was the sum of $700,000 for a new timber dry dock. The expense of maintenance, repairs, and improvements during the year 1886 was $120,810.17. The following year Commodore Bancroft Gherardi —now senior rear-admiral—succeeded to the command. The Secretary of the Navy reported the completion of the dredging operations as far as the appropriation would allow, and, as one of the results, that "a mooring area of five and a half acres had been obtained in Whitney Basin." In 1888 a fire occurred, partially destroying the large building (No. 7) occupied as offices. Appropriations were submitted for repairs to Cob Dock and for the extension of the railroad system for moving heavy guns and other supplies. In 1889 a very important step was taken—the appointment of a board of officers "to report a plan of permanent improvement, so that any money appropriated by Congress may be expended in carrying out a thoroughly well digested project in a continuous and economical manner." The appropriation of $15,000 for railway extension having been exhausted, Congress was asked to set aside a similar sum for its completion; an electric-light plant was also put up, and the completion of the new timber dry dock (commenced in 1886) was announced. Nearly one million dollars was expended for the construction of this work,—described as "in shape like a huge coffin,"—which had required more than 3,500,000 feet of timber and the continuous labor of 400 men daily for three years. An unusual activity prevailed at the yard during the year 1889, in consequence of the naval display feature of the Centennial festivities in the harbor of New-York, and the concentration for that purpose of many war vessels.

H. Gherardi

Rear-Admiral Daniel L. Braine assumed command in 1890, and signalized his advent by submitting, in his capacity of president of the board of officers already referred to, its recommendations. In substance these were that a sum of nearly $10,000,000 would provide per-

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manent and necessary equipment for the New-York yard—comprising a stone wall around Cob Dock, with gates, so that ships may enter and be closed in; electricity to be substituted for all motive power and lighting purposes; five miles of additional railroad track to be built; four or five new dry docks; enormous coal-bins, each of 16,000 tons' capacity; a new marine guard-house; a new central building for offices; and huge basins—to hold five or six ships—for fitting-out purposes. The board proposed to distribute this expenditure over a period of ten years. Among the local events of 1890 may be mentioned the transfer from the yard to the Naval Academy at Annapolis of the collection of rare books, relics, and trophies pertaining to that time-honored institution, the Naval Lyceum; the library contained about 2500 volumes,—some of them extremely scarce,—including a copy of nearly every official publication on arctic exploration. Under Admiral Braine were arranged the details of the ceremony of reverently transferring the remains of Ericsson to the United States steamer Baltimore, to be borne in state to his native land, in tardy recognition of his eminent services to the land of his adoption. The present commandant (1893) is Commodore Henry L. Erben, a gallant and progressive sailor. Under him and his competent successors the navy-yard affairs, it may be confidently predicted, will be administered in the best interests of the public service.

Melancton Smith

The New-York navy-yard was nearing the one-hundredth anniversary of its establishment when it became the base of operations for the most brilliant event in the history of the harbor—the great naval review in honor of the Columbian Quadricentennial. For more than three months preceding the day fixed (April 27, 1893) the plans for the reception of the foreign war-ships selected to participate in the grand function, and for the marshaling of the great international fleet before the President and cabinet, had been carefully considered and decided upon by the Secretary of the Navy and Rear-Admiral Gherardi, U. S. N., to whom had been intrusted the immediate command and direction.[1] Early in the month of April the representative ships of the navies of the world began to assemble in Hampton Roads, as follows: United States Navy—Baltimore, 4600 tons; Chicago, 4500 tons; Philadelphia (Admiral Gherardi's flag-ship), 4324 tons; Newark, 4083 tons; San Francisco, 4083 tons; Charleston, 4080 tons; Miantonomoh

[1] As this chapter is written about a month in advance of the day appointed for the naval display in New York bay, it is possible that some slight changes may be made in the official programme arranged for the occasion by Secretary Herbert and Admiral Gherardi. EDITOR.

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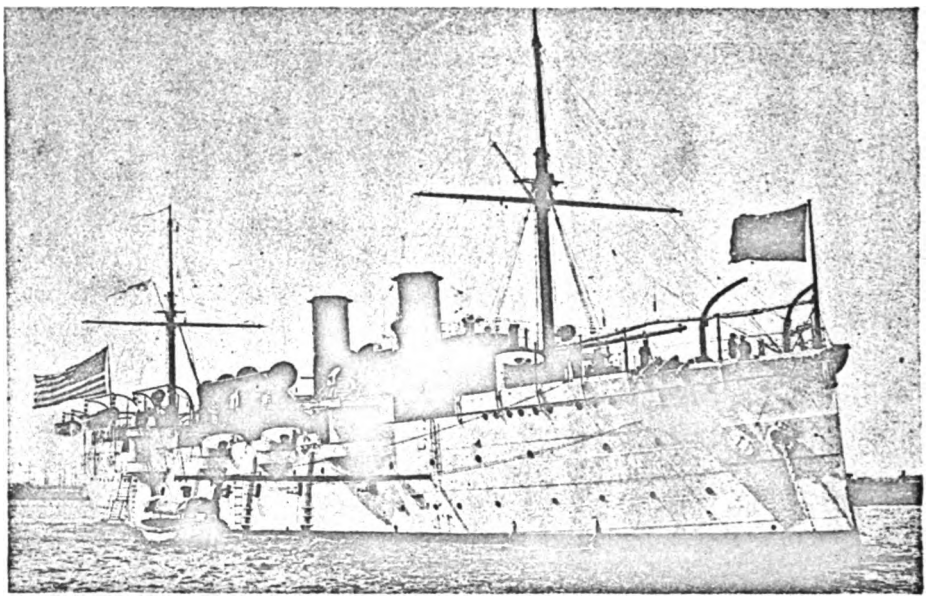
(double-turreted monitor), 3990 tons; Atlanta, 3189 tons; Bennington, 1700 tons; Yorktown, 1700 tons; Concord, 1700 tons; Bancroft, 838 tons, and Vesuvius, 930 tons. British navy (Vice-Admiral Sir J. O. Hopkins, K. C. B., commanding)—Blake, 9000 tons; Australia; Magicienne, 2950 tons; and torpedo cruiser Tartar, 1770 tons. Russian navy (Rear-Admiral M. Koznakoff, commanding, and Grand Duke Michaelovitch, second in command)—Armored cruisers Dimitri Donskoi, 5796 tons, and General Admiral, 4603 tons; and corvette Rynda, 2950 tons. Italy (Rear-Admiral D. B. Magnaghi, commanding)—Protected cruiser Etna, 3530 tons, Dogali and Giovanni Bausan, 3068 tons.



ADMIRAL GHERARDI'S FLAG-SHIP, PHILADELPHIA.

Spain (Rear-Admiral Gomez y Loño, commanding)—Cruisers Reina Regente, 4800 tons, and Infanta Isabel, 1130 tons; and gunboat Nueva España. Germany—Armored cruisers Kaiserinn Augusta and Seeadler. France (Rear-Admiral A. de Lebran, commanding)—Aréthuse, Hussard, and Jean Bart. Brazil (Rear-Admiral de Noronha, commanding)—Battle-ship Aquidaban, 5500 tons, and cruisers Republica and Tiradentes. Argentine Republic (Rear-Admiral Enrique Howard, commanding)—Nueve de Julio. Netherlands—Van Speijk, 5400 tons. Perhaps no vessel of the combined fleets would have attracted more attention and admiration than the New-York, probably the fastest armored cruiser afloat, which, not being completed and accepted by the government, was not in commission, and could not, as was greatly desired by the citizens of New-York, take part in the naval display. In addition to these formidable vessels of war,

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there were reproductions of the three caravels—Santa Maria, Pinta, and Niña—which composed the fleet of Columbus on his voyage of discovery. The Viking ship from Norway unfortunately did not arrive in season to participate in the celebration.

Upon their arrival at the rendezvous, the distinguished visitors received a warm and hospitable reception,—the guns of Fort Monroe vying with those of the "Naval Review Fleet" in deafening and welcoming roar. Their subsequent progress, accompanied by their hosts, led off by Admiral Gherardi in the flag-ship; their arrival in New-York bay and stately passage up the harbor and Hudson River on a bright and sunny morning before a million of spectators, are now matters of history. The day after (April 27), the combined fleets, their flags flying and guns saluting, were reviewed by President Cleveland and his cabinet, who were on board the Dolphin. Later the admirals paid their respects to the President, and were entertained by him on his flag-ship. On Friday, the 28th, another beautiful day, there was a procession in Fifth Avenue and Broadway—many thousand armed marines and sailors, of our own and eight other nations, carrying the flags of France and England, Germany and Italy, Russia and the Netherlands, Brazil, and the Argentine, and all passing in review before the mayor of the city and numerous distinguished personages. Never before, and it is scarcely probable that ever again, will such a unique and interesting sight be seen in the streets of New-York. The events of those three April days must ever remain memorable in the annals of the American metropolis.

DYNAMITE CRUISER VESUVIUS.

NEW-YORK NAVY-YARD COMMANDANTS.

Lieut.	Jonathan Thorne	1801	
Captain	Isaac Chauncey	1806	
"	Samuel Evans	1812	
"	Isaac Chauncey	1824	
"	Charles G. Ridgeley	1833	
"	James Renshaw	1839	
"	Matthew C. Perry	1841	
"	Silas H. Stringham	1843	
"	Isaac McKeever	1846	
"	William B. Salter	1849	
"	Charles Boorman	1852	
"	Abram Bigelow	1855	
"	Lawrence Kearney	1857	
Captain	Samuel L. Breese	1858	
Rear-Admiral	Hiram Paulding	1861	
"	" Charles A. Bell	1865	
"	" Sylvanus W. Godon	1866	
"	" Melancton Smith	1870	
Vice-Admiral	Stephen C. Rowan	1872	
Commodore	James W. G. Nicholson	1876	
Rear-Admiral	George H. Cooper	1880	
Commodore	John H. Upshur	1882	
"	Ralph Chandler	1885	
"	Bancroft Gherardi	1887	
Rear-Admiral	Daniel L. Braine	1890	
Commodore	Henry L. Erben	1892	

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CHAPTER XXI

SCHOOLS, COLLEGES, SEMINARIES, ETC.

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

WHEN the directors of the West India Company in 1629 changed their policy from one of trade only to one of trade and colonization, and held out inducements to settlers by promises of extensive land grants, they made it a condition that the grantees of large tracts of land, called patroons, should particularly exert themselves to find speedy means for the maintenance of a clergyman and a schoolmaster on their patents, in order that divine service and zeal for religion might be planted in New Netherland. At first the patroons were to send comforters of the sick. Hence we see that what above has been said about a minister going to the newly settled country on the Hudson River also applies to a schoolmaster, who, however, did not accompany the first settlers, but came as soon as there was any need of his instruction and his switch for pupils. Up to that time, which was almost coeval with the arrival of the first regularly ordained minister, the various duties of minister, comforter of the sick, or lay reader, and schoolmaster had rested on the shoulders of one person, so that, knowing that Sebastian Crol and Jan Huyck served the little village of New Amsterdam, with probably less than one hundred souls, as lay readers up to 1628, we can safely presume that the children who needed instruction found no difficulty in obtaining it. This is proved by a clause in the marriage settlement made between Ariaentje Cuvilly, a widow with children, and Jan Jansen Damen, April 30, 1632, in which the contracting parties bind themselves to the guardians of the children that they will make them go to school, "as good parents are bound to do."[1]

The first schoolmaster at New Amsterdam whose name we know was Adam Roelantsen. He is mentioned as such in a list of the salaried officials of the West India Company in 1633, and taught a school which still flourishes to-day in the city of New-York as the School of the Collegiate Reformed Church in West Seventy-seventh street. But where did Adam, this schoolmaster of 1633, teach the A B C and

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., I. 6.

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swing the rod? The records of that period are defective, and what we have of them is silent on this point; but an utterance of Stuyvesant seems to indicate that there had been erected a building for that purpose. He says to the Nine Men, November 14, 1647: "It is very necessary that a *new* schoolhouse and a dwelling house for the schoolmaster should be built. We are willing to make a fair contribution personally and on behalf of the Company. In the meantime the school may be kept in the kitchen of the Fiscal, or in such other place as the Church Wardens approve." The history of this school, which some time ago celebrated its two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary, is so well known through Mr. Dunshee's book,[1] that this short reference to its first establishment must suffice.

The school of 1633 was soon found to be inadequate for the accommodation of the number of children swarming in Dutch families. Cornelis van Tienhoven, the secretary of New Netherland, in reply to the remonstrance of the province, said in 1650: "Other teachers keep school in hired houses, so that the youth are provided with the means of education." Still the remonstrance had the effect that the new provisional order of government directed that at least two schoolmasters should be appointed for the population of New Amsterdam, numbering then between seven and eight hundred, while the number of children had increased in proportion since 1633. This second public school was held at the City Tavern, later the City Hall, on the corner of Pearl street and Coenties Slip, but is not mentioned after 1664. The directors of the company write to Stuyvesant, February 16, 1650: "At your request we have engaged a schoolmaster, who will also perform the duties of a comforter of the sick. He is recommended as an honest and pious man, and will follow this letter by the first opportunity."[2] He sailed for his new field of duty, April 15, 1650, but his name is not given. The immediate successor of Adam Roelantsen seems to have been Jan Stevensen, called by Domine Backerus a "faithful schoolmaster and reader, who has served the Company here for six or seven years, and is now (September, 1648) going home." His place was temporarily filled by Pieter van der Linde, who was appointed October 26, 1648, at a salary of one hundred and fifty florins (sixty dollars), "until another proper person can be sent from Holland." The "proper person from Holland" was apparently Willem Verstius, who asks, January 26, 1655, for his discharge "as schoolmaster and precentor in this city, as he has done the duty for which he was engaged, and as there are other fit people here who can take his place, he desiring to return to Holland." This desire to return is explained by a passage in Domine Megapolensis's letter of March 18, 1655: "As to Willem Verstius, who has been schoolmaster and sexton here,

[1] "History of the School of the Collegiate Church." [2] N. Y. Col. MSS., XI. 18.

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I could neither do much nor say anything to the Council, because for some years past they were not satisfied or pleased with his services, and therefore when he asked for an increase of salary last year, he was told that if the service did not suit him he might ask for his discharge."

During the same period private schools had sprung up, kept in "hired houses," as Van Tienhoven reported. Jan Cornelissen and Arian Jansen are mentioned as teachers of such schools; in September, 1652, Hans Stegn received permission to open one; David Provoost had a school at the house "where the Selectmen usually meet";[1] Andries Hudde asks in December, 1654,[2] for a license to keep a school in the city, but is told that the domine and his consistory have to be consulted about it; Evert Pietersen taught pupils in Brouwer (now Stone) street; and Carel Beauvois, from Leyden, schoolmaster, received the small burgherright June 27, 1659. Adrian Jansen van Ilpendam, a native of Leyden or vicinity,[3] is mentioned as schoolmaster in New Amsterdam in 1649, and was later a notary public at Fort Orange (Albany). Jan Lubberts received a license to keep a school for teaching to read, write, and cipher, August 13, 1658; and a similar license was granted to Jan Juriaensen Becker in 1660, and to Johannes van Gelder in 1662. In December, 1663, the magistrates of Harlem petitioned for the appointment of Jan de la Montagne as schoolmaster in the village, and the request was speedily granted; but woe to the man who did not ask for permission to teach from Stuyvesant! Thus Jacob van Corlaer was ordered, February 19, 1658, to desist from keeping school; and when the burgomasters and schepens interceded for him, they were told that the keeping of schools and the appointment of schoolmasters absolutely depended on the *jus patronatus*, and as Jacob van Corlaer had undertaken to act as teacher without proper license, he was now altogether forbidden to do so. Therefore, when the unfortunate Jacob applied for a license a month later, no action whatever was taken on his petition, or, as the record has it, *nihil actum*.[4]

The request of Verstius to be discharged from his duties as schoolmaster was granted March 23, 1655, and on the same day Harman van Hoboocken was appointed in his place, with the advice and consent of the consistory, during the first two years of whose incumbency not only "the number of children in the public school having greatly increased, further accommodation was allowed to the schoolmaster,"[5] but also the school-house was partly burned down, so that the teacher applied to the magistrates of the city for the use of the hall and side chamber in the City Hall for the school and as a family residence. As

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., V. 19.
[2] Ibid., 468.
[3] Ibid., III. 69.
[4] Ibid., VIII. 736, 773, 780.
[5] O'Callaghan, "History of New Netherland," II. 549.

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the rooms asked for were out of repair and wanted for other uses, the burgomasters could not allow the request, but "the youth of the town doing so uncommonly well, it is thought proper to find a convenient place for their accommodation, and for that purpose the petitioner is granted 100 fl. ($40) yearly."[1]

While Van Hoboocken was master of the "trivial"[2] school, Domine Drisius suggested the establishment of a Latin temple of learning to the directors of the company, who, in May, 1658, consequently wrote to Stuyvesant: "D^{r} Drisius has often expressed to us his opinion about the necessity of establishing a Latin school, and has offered his services for this purpose. We approve of the plan, and if you are of the same opinion you may take the initiatory steps." The result of this reference to Stuyvesant was a consultation with the burgomasters and schepens, and a representation of the latter to the directors in September, 1658, "that the youth of this place and neighbourhood are increasing in number gradually, and that most of them can read and write; but that some of the people would like to send their children to a school where Latin is taught, but are not able to do so without sending them to New England, nor can they afford to hire a Latin schoolmaster from there, therefore they ask the Company to send out a fit person as such master, while we shall endeavour to find a fit place in which he shall keep his school." The answer to this municipal representation came to Stuyvesant in the following spring, the directors writing: "How much trouble we have taken in finding a Latin schoolmaster is shown by Alexander Carolus Curtius, late Professor in Lithuania, now coming over, whom we have engaged at a yearly salary of 500 fl. ($200)." He entered upon his duties July 4, 1659, and being present at a meeting of the magistrates, he was tendered a present of one hundred florins in goods, told that a house and garden would be provided for him, that every pupil would have to pay him per quarter six florins, and that he had permission to practise medicine. A few years were sufficient to prove that he lacked the *sine qua non* of a schoolmaster, and the parents complained of the want of proper discipline among his pupils, "who beat each other and tore the clothes from each other's back." He retorted that "his hands were tied, as some of the parents forbade him punishing their children."[3] The result was that he had to surrender the mastership of the high school to Rev. Ægidius Luyck in 1662. Domine Luyck had apparently not looked after the temporalities of his new charge, for in July, 1663, he says to Stuyvesant and the council, that having at first been specially engaged as teacher of the director-general's children, some inhabitants

1 James K. Paulding, "Affairs and Men of New Amsterdam in the time of Gov. Peter Stuyvesant" (New-York, 1843), quoted by Dunshee.

2 Expression used in N. Y. Col. MSS., XL. 53, for "primary."

3 Dunshee, "School of the Collegiate Church."

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had seen that he was successful as such, and that the director was satisfied with his good methods of teaching the "foundations of Latin and Greek, with writing, reading, cyphering, catechizing and *bonorum morum praxis*," so that they had asked for his appointment to the rectorate in the city, *vice* Curtius. This was done, and "I have now twenty pupils, among whom two are from Virginia, and two from Fort Orange, and I expect ten to twelve more from these and other places. The question of salary was to be settled by the Directors of the Company, but nothing has as yet been done, and now I need my salary." After voting with the council to refer the matter to the directors, Stuyvesant added: "I have agreed with you of the council to the reference, but believe that the instruction of the young people, the school service, is not less necessary than the church service, and as the master's fitness has been shown by his pupils' learning in five quarters of a year as much as in one year and a half under Curtius, I shall recommend to the Directors to give to D^e^ Luyck the same salary as his predecessor had." As a reference did not put money in the teacher's pocket nor bread into his mouth, the burgomasters were authorized to settle the question without waiting for an answer from Holland, and on August 16 agreed upon a yearly salary of one thousand florins (four hundred dollars). At the time of the surrender, in 1664, he lived in Winckel street[1] (now closed), and an order of the governor and council of January 26, 1675,[2] directing him to be examined in regard to Governor Lovelace's property, left in his hands, calls him "Myn Heer, Domine, Burghemeester and Captain." Domine Luyck, "S. S. Min. Candidatus,"[3] and family left America in the ship Providence (Andrew Bowne, master), for London, May 19, 1676.[4] No mention is found in the records of his Latin school after the return of Dutch government in 1673, unless we assume that the order made by Governor Anthony Colve and council, December 24, 1673,[5] applies to it. The order said: "All persons, no matter what their religious persuasion, are bound to contribute to the support of the precentor and schoolmaster."

When the colony on the South River had been turned over by the West India Company to the city of Amsterdam, Evert Pietersen Keteltas had been appointed schoolmaster there; but the population decreasing through sickness and emigration, he came to New Amsterdam, where "he was employed by Stuyvesant either as a colleague of Harman van Hoboocken, or as his *locum tenens* when Harman was sick."[6] He returned to Holland in 1660, and applied to the directors for an appointment as master, which was given him, *vice* Van Hoboocken,

[1] N. Y. City Records, IV., April 19, 1665.
[2] N. Y. Col. MSS., Orders and Warrants, 1674–79, p. 47.
[3] Am. Corr., No. 1694.
[4] N. Y. Col. MSS., Orders and Warrants, 1674–79, p. 197.
[5] N. Y. Col. MSS., XXIII. 184.
[6] Dunshee, p. 27.

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in May, 1661. The discharged man was taken care of by Stuyvesant and council, who on October 27 decided: "Whereas, Harman van Hoboocken, lately schoolmaster and precentor, was removed because another man was sent out to replace him, and as he asks to be employed again in some way or the other in the Company's service,—Therefore he is appointed Adelborst (Cadet), and as D^{r} Selyns, arrived about this time, had, as stated above, established church service at Stuyvesant's Bouwery, which always carried school service with it, it was further decreed: Whereas, the aforesaid Harman is a person of irreproachable life and conduct, therefore he shall be employed at the Director-General's Bouwery as schoolmaster and reader, with the condition that whenever his services as Adelborst are required by the Company, the Director shall replace him by another fit person."[1] When the West India Company lost all political interest in the New Netherlands through the English conquest, Evert Pietersen applied to the burgomasters and schepens for a salary, and was told, September 19, 1665, that as they were considering about the salary of the ministers in the city, under which head also his application came, he should await the result of their deliberations. Various indications lead to the belief that this question of salary was not settled then. In February, 166$\frac{8}{9}$, "Evert Pietersen, Schoolmaster and Precentor, requests payment of his salary earned and further allowance for future services,"[2] and a few months later Domine Megapolensis writes to the Classis: "Nothing is done for our salary." Evert, however, does not seem to have been absolutely dependent on the salary, for in 1674 he is reported as owning 2000 florins' worth of real property, probably the house and lot in Brouwer (now Stone) street. After Domine Megapolensis's death, and during Domine Drisius's continued illness, he read in the church every Sunday forenoon and afternoon prayers, being occasionally relieved by Domine Polhemus, of Long Island (then seventy years old), and by Domine Luyck. Schoolmaster Keteltas is mentioned as still in office in 1686, when the Consistory of the Reformed Church, considering his advanced age, appointed Abraham de la Noy to relieve the master of his duties as reader, precentor, and comforter of the sick. But we do not know who his immediate successor was, as the minutes of the deacons from 1687 to 1726 are missing. That the school was not closed during this period is proved by the action of the consistory when a new vacancy in the post of schoolmaster occurred, and the governor claimed the right to make the appointment.

We have the first knowledge of how this school of the Collegiate Church was conducted from the contract made with Barent de Foreest,

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS. IX. 869. Dunshee, "School of the Collegiate Church," p. 29, quotes Governor Hamilton Fish as saying: "I have an impression that Mr. Stuyvesant pointed out to me the location of this old school-house as situate on what is now the site of Tompkins Market, about the corner of Sixth street and Hall Place."

[2] N. Y. City Records, VI. 78.

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January 5, 172⅘, to give "instruction not only in the Low Dutch language, but also in the elements of Christian piety." The school hours were to be in the morning from 9 to 11 in summer, and from 9:30 to 12 in winter, the afternoon session from 1 to 5 throughout the year. Prayer and singing were to open every day's school term, and the pupils were to be taught to spell, read, write, cipher, and the usual prayers in the catechism. "If ten of the scholars or less (of seven years of age or upwards) were unable to pay for their instruction, the Consistory guaranteed to pay the schoolmaster annually £9 N. Y. ($22.50), if more in proportion." Either the scanty pay or the improvidence of the man brought De Foreest into the debtors' prison in 1732, which seems to have so scandalized the fathers of the church that on March 21, 1733, they invited Gerrit van Wagenen, master of a similar school at Kingston, to become their foresinger, schoolmaster, and visitor of the sick, with the additional duties of keeping the records of the consistory, at a fixed salary of £34 6*s.* and four cords of wood. Gerrit van Wagenen died in 1743, and was succeeded by his son, Huybert, who resigned in April, 1749.

Soon after Huybert van Wagenen's appointment, the deacons, in consideration of the "up-town" movement of the population, and the consequent long distance from the school,[1] opened a branch school in Cortlandt street,[2] of which Abraham de la Noy was made the master, with the same salary as Van Wagenen: the children of members of the Cedar Street or Middle Church to be instructed at De la Noy's school, while those of the South Church, in Garden street, went to Van Wagenen's, now Nos. 50 and 52 Exchange Place. Abraham de la Noy taught in the school until 1747, and was followed by William van Dalsem, who is recorded as master of this branch school until 1757. Van Wagenen's successor was Daniel Bratt, chorister of the Catskill church, who was engaged by the New-York consistory for five years, from April, 1749, with the same additional duty of acting as clerk to the consistory as his predecessors, but with a change in salary. For his clerical services he was to receive £12 10*s.*; as schoolmaster, the same amount with a dwelling-house, a school-room in the Old Church, and a load of wood, half oak, half nut, for each scholar, of whom twelve were not to pay any fees. On November 18, 1751, Daniel Bratt handed in a list of free scholars taught by him, which exceeded the stipulated number by three. Requesting additional pay for these, he also asked for permission to take more if they offered themselves. He received both pay and permission, but the number was limited to twenty; and in April, 1753, notice was given him "that his services as schoolmaster would end in May, 1754." Bratt had

[1] The city extended then from the Battery to about City Hall Park.
[2] Watson, "Annals," p. 172.

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already, in December, 1751, been relieved from the duties of comforter of the sick and catechizer, by the appointment of Adrian van der Sman to this office; but "on finding him a man of very immoral behaviour, having forged the handwriting of the Rev. Johannes Ritzema, he was dismissed" in 1767.

The discharge of Bratt created a vacancy not easily filled, for a man was needed who could teach in Dutch and English, and among the teachers licensed during the preceding twenty years no Dutch name appears. The consistory had therefore to call a chorister, catechist, and schoolmaster from Holland, and made the following proposals: that he should not be under twenty-five nor over thirty-five years of age; that he should have a free dwelling-house with a large school-room, a small chamber, a kitchen and a cellar, a fine kitchen-garden behind the house, and a salary of £80; for which emoluments he was expected to lead the singing in church, keep the books of the church officers, register baptisms, and teach twenty poor children gratis. He was allowed to take pay scholars, for whose tuition in reading only he could charge five shillings (62½ cents) per quarter; in reading and writing, eight shillings; in ciphering, ten shillings; in singing, six shillings; pen and ink, bought from him, were placed at sixpence,—which the call says may be expected to add £40 to the fixed salary. John Nicholas Welp, of Amsterdam, responded to the call, and arrived at New-York, via New London, in the fall or early winter of 1755. The consistory, writing to the agents who had procured his services, say: "His testimonials are highly laudatory, and the proof of his work hitherto satisfactory to the congregation." During his incumbency the number of free scholars increased to thirty, and after his death, in January, 1773, the consistory showed their appreciation of his faithful and efficient services by burying him at the expense of the church, and allowing to his widow a yearly pension of £20.

The introduction of the English language into the pulpit in 1764 relieved the consistory from the absolute necessity of finding again a Dutch master, although the original language of the school was not to be relinquished. They invited Peter van Steenburgh, schoolmaster at Flatbush, L. I., to take charge of their school, offering a salary of £81, a dwelling-house with garden, and a school-room for his services of teaching thirty poor children in English or Dutch, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, in the Heidelberg Catechism, and as janitor of the consistory room. He was also to be allowed to teach thirty paying pupils, and to keep an evening school. The call was accepted, and on August 6, 1773, Peter van Steenburgh entered upon his duties, which he continued until, upon the arrival of the British army in 1776, the school was closed, to be reopened with the same master, September 7, 1783, while the same army was still occupying the city. But as the

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church buildings had suffered through the war, and must now be repaired at great expense, the number of free or "charity" pupils had to be restricted to ten. By collections made in the churches for the purpose, the consistory was enabled to increase this number to thirty in 1788, and to fifty in 1790. As Mr. Van Steenburgh did not act as chorister in the church, Stanton Latham, then clerk in the North Church, was appointed to succeed Van Steenburgh in 1791, thus preserving the inherited custom of having the schoolmaster also serve as foresinger. Latham had offered to teach fifty children at seven shillings per quarter, which offer was accepted, to begin on May 1,—the consistory resolving that they "have a high sense of the abilities, assiduity and faithfulness which Mr. Van Steenburgh has for many years exerted in the school under his care." During the next year, 1792, ten more free scholars were admitted, and "ten girls, at present under the tuition of Mr. Latham, were removed, and put under the care of a female instructor," Miss Elizabeth Ten Eyck, who remained in charge of the girls' department until 1809, and was probably the first female teacher in a public school in the State of New-York.

The system of receiving pay scholars was continued until 1795, when the consistory, after consultation with the head master, Latham, resolved that from the first of February of that year, none but charity scholars should be admitted, whose number was to be unlimited, and that Mr. Latham's salary should be raised to two hundred pounds and a free dwelling-house. Four years later, May 25, 1799, however, the number had to be again restricted to fifty, probably in consequence of the withdrawal of the funds which during the years 1796 and 1797 the school had received from the State.

Coming to the locality of the houses where the before-named masters taught, nothing can be said about it for the first hundred years, unless we believe that school was kept in the house of the teacher. Adam Roelantsen, the first schoolmaster of what must be considered the *oldest school now in existence in America*, had a house near the farm of Jan Damen, the south side of which ran along Wall street. Jan Stevensen's house and lot, granted him by the company in 1643, was on the northwest corner of the "Heere Straat" (now Broadway) and Morris street.[1] Stuyvesant, who took an active interest in the school question, not only as an official, but also as a private citizen, wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam soon after his arrival: "We need a pious and diligent schoolmaster here, a year having passed since we were deprived of such help"—Stevensen had left in September, 1648; and soon after a plate was sent round to collect money for a school building; "some few materials for it have been bought, but the first stone is yet to be laid."[2] When the question as to where the

[1] Valentine, "Manual," 1857. [2] N. Y. Col. Hist., I. 299.

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children should gather for instruction had been raised during the winter of 1647–8, Stuyvesant had recommended that the cook-house of the Fiscal might be used for the school. Nothing seems to have been done for many years, for according to a petition of the burgomasters to Stuyvesant, February 2, 1662, they intended then "to build a school-house for the benefit of the inhabitants, for which they needed land, and thought the most appropriate lot would be behind the property of Master Jacob Hendricksen Varrevanger,[1] fronting on Brouwer (now Stone) street, opposite to Johannis de Peyster's. The director and council, however, considered the best place to be in a corner of the churchyard, a new burying-place to be laid out outside of the land-gate.[2] Where, however, Willem Verstius kept school during his term from 1650 to 1655 does not appear, while we know that the branch school under Jean Monier de la Montagne was, by suggestion of the directors of the company, opened in the City Tavern, later the City Hall, on the corner of Pearl street and Coenties alley, now Nos. 71 and 73 Pearl street. Harman van Hoboocken was allowed 100 florins ($40) yearly to rent a house for his dwelling and school, when his house had been injured by fire in 1656. The school building recommended to be placed in a corner of the churchyard in 1662 was apparently not erected, so that, continuing the before-expressed belief, we must locate the school, when taught by Evert Pietersen Keteltas (1661–87), in his dwelling in Stone street, although in 1666 Captain Stymets (Steijnmets) asked from the municipal authorities 260 florins ($104) rent for his house, let to the city as a school.[3] Not knowing the names of Keteltas's successors from 1687 to 1726, and no directory of the city existing for the period from 1726 to 1743, to give the dwelling-houses of the schoolmasters, it is impossible to tell where the school was then located. We have already seen that the branch school established in 1743 under Abraham de la Noy was held in Cortlandt street. Judge Egbert Benson, who graduated from King's (now Columbia) College in 1765, told in an address before the New-York Historical Society, December 31, 1816,[4] that in his early youth he attended school at the corner of Marketfield and Broad streets. This gives us the location of the school frequented by children of the Garden Street or South Church. "The committee of Consistory for preparing a plan for the building of a school and dwelling house, exhibited one (August 15, 1749) which was unanimously approved, and it was resolved that the erection of a building, according to such plan, should forthwith proceed."[5] The lot of land on which this edifice was to stand had been bought by the church

[1] A surgeon, hence his title of "Master."
[2] N. Y. Col. MSS., XI. 39.
[3] N. Y. City Records, Burgomasters, VI. 173.
[4] Watson, "Annals," p. 191.
[5] Minutes of Consistory.

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in Garden street for $450, in 1691. In this place, which Marschalck's map of the city, made in 1755, shows to have been on the north side of the present Exchange Place, between Broad and William streets, it remained until 1824, and after many wanderings, always in an up-town direction, it has now found a resting-place in Seventy-seventh street, where twelve teachers instruct 130 scholars, free scholarships being granted by the trustees in limited number and under certain conditions.[1]

The earliest English laws of the colony—the Duke's Laws of 1664, and the Dongan Laws of 1683–4—have nothing in regard to schools or teachers, and "it is said that when the Dutch were obliged to surrender to the English, in 1664, the educational spirit was so common throughout the colony that almost every settlement had a regular school taught by more or less permanent teachers, and that there was a decided set-back given to this movement upon the advent of the English, in consequence of the apprehension, on the part of the authorities, that common schools would nourish and strengthen a spirit of independence, which had, even then, made some considerable headway."[2] If a man wished to teach, either because he thought it good policy to have all children educated, or because he was not fitted for any other business, he petitioned the governor for a teacher's license, and usually received it, or, like Matthew Hiller in 1676, was referred to the municipal officers. A qualifying condition was not imposed on would-be teachers until the accession to the throne of England of James II., when there appears in the instructions sent to Governor Dongan the clause: "And wee doe further direct that noe Schoolmaster bee henceforth permitted to come from England and to keep school within Our Province of New York without the license of the Archbishop of Canterbury; And that noe other person now there, or that shall come from other parts, bee admitted to keep school without your license first had." For fear that Roman Catholic teachers might come "from other parts," the instructions given to the succeeding governors directed them "not to permit any schoolmaster to teach without a certificate of the Bishop of London."[3]

It appears doubtful whether this policy was dictated by the wish to exclude incompetent instructors, or for the purpose of controlling appointments and of determining the course of the schools. The only act in which the ruling powers of the colony showed a disposition to promote popular education was forced upon them by the strongly Dutch element in the General Assembly of 1702. This was the "Act for Encouragement of a Grammar Free School in New York City,"

[1] Letter from the head master to the writer.
[2] Andrew S. Draper, "Origin and Development of the New-York Common School System."
[3] N. Y. Col. MSS., LXIV. 6.

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which, as passed by the Assembly, the governor and council refused to approve, until after days of controversy in conference committee. An amendment was finally agreed upon by which it was required that the teacher should have a license from the Bishop of London or the governor. The mayor and common council were "to elect, choose, license, authorize and appoint one able, skillful and orthodox person to be schoolmaster for the education of youth and male children of French and Dutch extraction as well as English." This teacher's yearly salary of £50 ($125) was to be raised by a general tax in the city for seven years; but when by its own limitation this measure expired in 1709, nothing was done to renew or continue it.

The next governmental step in the line of public instruction was a law, passed in 1732, providing for the establishment of a public school where Latin, Greek, and mathematics were to be tanght. The preamble of this law says: "Whereas the City and Colony of New-York abounds with youth of a Genius not Inferior to other Countries," who ought to receive a classical education; therefore provision is made to open a school with the Rev. Alexander Malcolm as head master, which is to be in existence for five years—that is, from December 1, 1732, to the same date in 1737. Malcolm had at the time of this appointment a private school, and this fact may have led to his selection, for the law required the master to provide at his own expense the necessary quarters for the school, where he was to teach gratuitously twenty boys, of whom the municipal authorities of New-York were to appoint ten, the same officers of Albany two, and the justices of the peace in the other counties one each. The master's salary of £110 was to come out of the fees collected from hawkers and peddlers.

The legal life of this school had expired on December 1, 1737, before the act for "further encouragement of a public school" was passed on December 10, prolonging the existence of Mr. Malcolm's institution for —one whole year! The legislature thought that "a Liberal Education is not only a very great Accomplishment, but also the Properest means to attain to knowledge, Improve the Mind and good Manners and to make men Better, wiser, and more usefull to their Country," and "Mr. Malcolm having given Satisfactory proof of his abilities to Teach Lattin, Greek, and the Mathematicks," he is continued as master, with an addition to his salary of £40, to be raised by tax in New-York, Richmond, Westchester, and Queen's counties. The other provisions of the law of 1732 remained the same. Modest as the salary was, the public treasury could not raise it, for the fees exacted from hawkers and peddlers did not bring in a sufficient revenue, so that two years after the school had ceased to exist, on December 1, 1738, a special law had to be passed to pay to Mr. Malcolm £111 7*s.* 6*d.*, as balance due on the salary earned by him.

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Although the provincial government did nothing, or almost nothing, for popular education during the whole time of British sway over the colonies, such education was not wholly neglected, for while the Collegiate Church took care of her children, the Episcopalians also did the same.

Almost coeval to, but of longer life than, the "Grammar Free School" authorized by the law of 1702, was another church school. It had been organized, under the auspices of the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in 1709. The instructions given by this society to the schoolmasters sent by it to foreign parts, directed "to teach the children to read truly and distinctly, to write a plain and legible hand, in order to the fitting them for useful employments, with as much arithmetic as shall be necessary for the same purpose, and to take especial care of their manners, both in school and out of it, moral and religious teachings understood."[1] The law of the society provided that no one should be employed as teacher until he had proved "his affection to the present government and his conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." As the Collegiate School of the Reformed Church made similar confessional conditions, neither of these two schools can be called a "free school," even though no fees were exacted.

The first master of this school was William Huddleston,[2] of Monkforce, Whitebeck parish, England, who was also clerk of Trinity Church, and dying in 1723 was succeeded by his son Thomas, who since 1705 had taught a school at Jamaica, L. I.,[3] and now took Trinity school until 1731. Thomas Noxon was the next master until 1741; he was followed by Thomas Hildreth, to 1777, after whom came Amos Bull, to 1787. The first school-house was built in Rector street in 1748; from here the school moved to land granted by Trinity Church, between Canal and Grand streets, in 1832, and now it is situated at No. 1517 Broadway.

The disruption of the Reformed Church, alluded to above, can only be understood by referring to the position of the general community upon the subject of education. The spasmodic efforts of the governing bodies for nearly half a century had only served to whet the desire of the people for the establishment of a college in New-York, similar to Harvard and Yale in New England, and William and Mary in Virginia. But the different nationalities, denominational distinctions, and principally antagonism to the Episcopal Church, were obstacles difficult to surmount, until the opening of a college in Philadelphia, where similar national and religious differences prevailed, showed the possi-

[1] Anderson, "History of the Colonial Church," III. 159.

[2] He had applied in 1695 for admission to the bar, but was not successful. N. Y. Col. MSS., XXXIX. 194.

[3] Deeds, Secretary of State's office, X. 82.

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bility, and the New-York Assembly passed in 1746 an act for raising the sum of £2250 by a public lottery for this colony toward the advancement of learning "and Towards the Founding a Colledge within the same." "Inasmuch as it will greatly Tend to the Wellfare and Reputation of the Colony, that a Proper and Ample Foundation be Laid for the Regular Education of Youth," says the preamble to this law, "be it enacted," etc., that Peter Vallette and Peter van Brugh Livingston be managers of the lottery, the details of which do not refer to the proposed institution of learning. The foundation intended to be laid by this to-day legally tabooed scheme was not ample enough, for in April, 1748, a new lottery for £1800 was authorized, and as not sufficient tickets had been taken by the day fixed by law,—that is, the first day of September,—a new enactment, dated October 28, extended the time to November 14. The amount realized from these two lotteries was £3343 18*s.*, as the Act to Continue the Duty of Excise on Strong Liquors and the Currency of Bills of Credit emitted thereon until November 1, 1767, passed July 4, 1753, tells us. The same law says: "It has been the intention of the Legislature for several years past to establish a Seminary for the education of Youth in the Liberal Arts and Sciences, but as at present no other means can be devised than by a continuance of the excise on liquor," it is ordered that the treasurer of the province pay out of these excise funds to the trustees, in whom the above-named sum of £3443 18*s.* had been vested, the annual sum of £500 for seven years. On the same day (July 4, 1753) another lottery for £1125, with Peter van Brugh Livingston and Jacobus Roosevelt as managers, was started by law, to be followed by others for the same amounts in December, 1753; May, 1754; August, 1755; and December, 1756.[1]

The above-mentioned trustees had been so apportioned among the three principal denominations in the province that the measure created distrust in the minds of a number, in fact of the majority, of the inhabitants. Seven of them were Episcopalians, two Dutch Reformed, and one (William Livingston) Presbyterian. This started a later verified rumor that the charter to be asked for the college would require that its president be an Episcopalian, and the Book of Common Prayer, as used in the Church of England, be used in the institution. Livingston had, in November, 1752, started a paper, the "Independent Reflector," in which he discussed the most proper manner of the college establishment. This, he said, should not be by a charter from the governor, belonging to and therefore biased by Church of England sentiments, but by an act of the legislature, composed of men of various denominations, and therefore presumably as a body impartial. In an address to the inhabitants, he asked: "Are we

[1] MS. laws, Secretary of State's office.

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not all members of the same community? Have we not an equal right? Are we not all alike to contribute to the support of the college? Whence, then, the pretension of one in preference to the rest? Does not every persuasion produce men of worth? Consider, therefore, the obvious iniquity, the monstrous unreasonableness, of the claim I am opposing." His attacks on the various abuses of the system as proposed were answered in the columns of the "New-York Mercury" by the usual arguments against Independents. But Trinity Church came at this period, as we shall see, to the conditional rescue of the languishing scheme, and their grant of land stimulated the trustees to petition for a charter and to begin college exercises with seven students in the vestry-room of Trinity, in June, 1754.

The trustees appointed, by act of 25 George II, for erecting a college, petitioned Lieutenant-Governor de Lancey and council, May 20, 1754,[1] for a charter of incorporation, stating that because they are enabled to give a salary to the head master only for seven years, "they are under great difficulty to procure a fit and proper person to undertake the office." But the rector and corporation of Trinity Church, "being willing to encourage the good design of establishing a seminary or college, . . . have offered unto your petitioners a very valuable parcel of ground on the west side of Broadway, . . . for the use of the said intended seminary, . . . on condition that the head master be a member of the Church of England." The committee of council, to whom this petition had been referred, reported on May 30 that they were in favor of granting the request, and the attorney-general was ordered to draft the necessary instruments. But Messrs. James Alexander and William Smith, of the council, dissented, and gave as their reasons that — "(1) it is unjust, by any charter, to exclude any Protestant denomination in the province from any office in our college; (2) it is inconsistent with religious liberty to impose any method of divine service; (3) it tends to monopolize learning to a small party; (4) it is subversive of the generous design of a public college, from which the legislature in their acts did not intend to exclude any denomination of Protestants; (5) it is dangerous to the peace and prosperity of this province, by establishing in a minor party a constitutional right with an exclusive dominion over the far greatest of the inhabitants thereof." The two signers of this protest had declared it "to be their undoubted right and bounden duty, as occasion might require, to publish their protest," but the council advised the lieutenant-governor not to give the necessary imprimatur. The draft of letters patent incorporating certain persons to be named therein by the name and style of the Governors of the College of the Province of New-York in the City of New-York in America,[2] was laid

[1] Council MSS. XXIII., 181. [2] Ibid., 224.

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before the council, October 31, 1754, read and approved, and the lieutenant-governor was advised to affix the great seal thereto when engrossed, William Smith again protesting vainly. The charter vested "the sole power of electing Professors for the College in the Governours," who, in May, 1755,[1] told the governor and council that they conceived it would tend to the Prosperity of the College and the Increase of the number of students if provision could be made for the establishment of "a Professorship of Divinity for the Instruction of Youth," according to the doctrine, discipline, etc., adopted by the Synod of Dort. It was now asked that an amendment to the charter should allow the governors of the college to appoint to such a professorship any one recommended by the ministers and consistory of the Reformed Dutch Church in the city. The request was granted on May 30, and at the next session of council, June 5, it was ordered that this additional charter for the establishing of a Dutch professorship of divinity be printed. Dr. Ritzema, of the New-York City Reformed Church, had secured favor, and his representations in this direction were listened to with so much more good will as, by the movement in the Reformed Church spoken of before, the fears had gone abroad that the Dutch would start a college of their own, to the ruin of King's College. The Dutch professorship of divinity was therefore eagerly granted, but the mass of the people were now disgusted and would have nothing more to do with the college, so that no minister of the Reformed Church graduated from King's College until after the Revolution. Livingston went a step farther, and secured the presentation of a bill in the Assembly for a free college, which was ordered printed, but from motives of policy not pressed to a vote. He never qualified as trustee by taking the required oath. Soon after the arrival of Governor Hardy, Livingston told, in the last number of his "Watch Tower" series in the "New-York Mercury" (November 17, 1755), the whole history of the charter, holding up the real objects of the respective parties, and claiming that, notwithstanding the charter, he had gained the people. This fact appeared from the difficulties which now arose about the transfer of the funds from the original temporary trustees to the governors named in the charter. Were they not the people's funds, and not those of a single and small religious body? After a year of debate one half of them was diverted to the corporation of the city, wherewith to build a new jail and pest-house, and the college, founded on a basis contrary to the general wishes of the majority, never throve until after the Revolution the act to encourage literature by donations to Columbia College, passed April 11, 1792, gave to the trustees a sum of seven thousand nine hundred pounds for library, laboratory, and building purposes, and allowed a further an-

[1] Council MSS., XXIII. 276.

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nual sum of seven hundred and fifty pounds for five years, to be applied to the payment of salaries.

The first president of the new college was Dr. Samuel Johnson, who had been one of the professors at Yale until 1720, when Rev. Timothy Cutler, the Congregationalist minister at Stratford, had been called to the rectorship of this institution. Johnson gave up his place for the more congenial work of the ministry, and soon after made the declaration of his belief that the Church of England was a true branch of the church of Christ, and that it had become his duty to enter into communion with her. This, of course, necessitated his resignation as Congregational pastor; he started for England from Boston November 5, 1722, and soon after landing at Ramsgate, December 15, he was ordained and sent back to America as missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at Stratford,

COLUMBIA COLLEGE, 1860.

the neighborhood of his former field of duty. He had been corresponding with Bishop Berkeley about the projected college for several years, and on November 22, 1753, the trustees determined to invite him to the presidency, with a yearly salary of two hundred and fifty pounds, and Chauncey Whittlesey, of New Haven, as his assistant at a salary of two hundred pounds. He expresses his reason for once more leaving the pastoral field as follows, in a letter to Bishop Sherlock: "I was in great doubt whether to accept the Presidency; but as I saw that it would come to nothing if I did not, I at length returned and accepted the charge," the duties of which he discharged until the 1st of March, 1763, when, upon his resignation, his assistant, Rev. Myles Cooper, a Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, was elected as his successor. Mr. Cooper had come to New-York in the

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autumn of 1762, having been selected by Archbishop Secker as Dr. Johnson's assistant. Dr. Johnson left a college with twenty-four students, and went back to Stratford, where he died January 6, 1772.

Dr. Cooper had not been long enough in the colonies to have been sufficiently imbued with the patriotism pervading the air during the last decade of British rule. He therefore took the side of the Royalists, and offended the other side so much by his writings and conversations that on the night of May 10, 1775, his lodgings in the college were forcibly entered by a mob, which, if it had found him, would probably have handled him with brutality. He escaped, only half dressed, and found refuge on board the Kingfisher man-of-war, which took him to England. Rev. Benjamin Moore, already spoken of, was elected *praeses pro tempore* on May 16, but in April, 1776, the college building was requisitioned by the committee of safety for the reception of troops. The students were in consequence dispersed, and did not gather again until 1784, but no president was elected because the deranged state of the college finances made it difficult to offer such a salary as would induce a suitable person to accept the office, until on May 21, 1787, the trustees considered themselves justified to ask Dr. William Samuel Johnson, son of the first president, to take the place. He signified his acceptance in November following, and remained president of Columbia College until July, 1800.

At the same meeting in March, 1763, when Dr. Johnson tendered his resignation, a plan was adopted for the establishment of a grammar-school in connection with the college, and this was opened not much later, under the charge of Dr. Matthew Cushing, of Charlestown, Mass.; but it was not a successful undertaking, for in August, 1767, it was found that so far it had cost three hundred and seventy pounds. Some reforms were therefore made, and its expenses were reduced by dispensing with one of the teachers until then employed, and in May, 1784, the regents of the university, appointed under an act passed a few days before, revived the grammar-school of Columbia College, with Mr. William Cochran as its master.

Although, as we have seen, free schools did not flourish under English rule, children whose parents could afford to pay for their tuition found sufficient opportunity to learn; for private teachers, who taught all manner of learning, received licenses from the governors, or from the municipal officers, like Matthew Hiller in 1674, Ebenezer Kirtland in 1676, and David Jamison in 1691. David Vilant kept a school in the City Hall in 1696–7, having been made a freeman of the city in 1695. The license granted by Cornbury to George Muirson, April 25, 1704, does not specify the kind of instruction to be given; but Elias Neau was licensed, in August following, to catechize children, Indians, negroes, and all other persons in the city; while Andrew Clark was

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allowed to keep a school and teach English, Latin, Greek, writing and arithmetic, Prudent de la Fayolle to teach French, and John Wood, during the governor's pleasure, to teach dancing.[2] The petition of none of these teachers, setting forth their qualifications, is on record; but under date of July 15, 1712,[3] when the free grammar-school had ended its life, Allane Jarratt, who was to do duty as a surveyor for the New-York and New Jersey Boundary Commission in 1719, stated "that haveing by an experience and practice of the Art of Navigation and other parts of the mathematicks for the space of fourteen years, after an early education in the most usefullest parts thereof acquired a Competent Knowledge therein, and being Sensible how much the youths brought up in this City are at a loss in goeing to sea without a Sufficient Instruction in Writeing and Arithmeticks and in the Art of Navigations, he therefore begs his Excellency's Lycense to teach Writeing, Arithmeticks, Navigation, and other parts of the Mathematicks." The license was issued the same day, but the incentive given by Jarratt's private enterprise to establish a school of navigation has not been followed by a public establishment of this nature, except the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Md.

Joseph Nelson.[1]

The Burghers' and Freemen's List[4] mentions for the period from 1695 to 1774 the names of thirty-two schoolmasters as having been admitted as freemen, and there were evidently some teachers who did not aspire to this privilege. Isaac Bobin, the deputy secretary, writes in September, 1728, to his chief, George Clarke: "I have paid Mr. Brownell for Miss Molly's schooling, as likewise for six balls of gold and one of silver thread for Miss Molly. Mr. Cook will send the spinet tuned, when the weather is settled." At the first meeting of the legislature after the adoption of the Constitution of 1787, Governor Clinton called the attention of the lawmakers to education, with the result of an act being passed to incorporate the regents of the university, which placed in the general charge of this newly created body the colleges and academies of the State. Two years later, in 1789, two lots

[1] For a notice of Nelson, the blind professor, *vide* Vol. III, pp. 595, 596. EDITOR.

[2] Deeds, Secretary of State's Office, X, etc., 27.

[3] N. Y. Col. MSS., LVII. 190.

[4] N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col., 1885; N. Y. Col. MSS., LXV. 127.

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in each township of the public State lands were by law set apart for gospel and school purposes. This is the germ of what is now the "common-school fund," upon which subsequent legislation, recommended by Governor Clinton, grew the common-school system, which has placed the State and city of New-York in the foremost rank in the educational army. So that, scanty as were the chances of children to receive education at the end of the last century, the city alone can now point with pardonable pride to its educational resources, with forty colleges and theological seminaries, eighty-five grammar and forty-seven primary schools, to which must be added an uncounted number of private establishments.

PUBLIC-SCHOOL SCHOLARSHIPS

In the year 1889 Joseph Pulitzer gave twelve scholarships to pupils of the public schools, to enable them to acquire a collegiate education. Each scholarship was to continue for five years, two hundred and fifty dollars being paid to the scholar in each of the five years. The award of these scholarships was determined by the result of the examination for admission to the College of the City of New-York, but the successful competitors were privileged to select a course in Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, or Cornell. Mr. Pulitzer gave more than a year's trial to the first experiment, and he was so well satisfied with the work of the scholars that he renewed his offer of twelve scholarships in 1891, and again in 1892. The conditions of the scholarships are as follows: The Pulitzer Public-school Scholarships shall be open to competition on the part of any boy in good bodily health, who shall have been a pupil of the public schools of the city of New-York for the three years immediately preceding the examination for determining the awards of scholarships, and who shall present to the Committee on Award a certificate from the principal of his school, stating that the applicant has been faithful, studious, and orderly in the performance of his duties, and is, as far as the knowledge and information of the principal extend, in such needy circumstances that he could not enter college without such assistance. As a reward of merited success, and as a reminder of the high responsibility resting upon the holder of a scholarship thus obtained, the name of each successful applicant shall be given in a published report to be made by the Committee on Award, together with the total number of applicants for the scholarships. The scholarships shall be held subject to the supervision of the Committee on Award, and any holder of a scholarship shall forfeit his right to the same if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the committee that he has not been sufficiently orderly in conduct or diligent and successful in his studies. The Committee on Award has held the holders of the scholarships to a strict accountability for the proper performance of their collegiate duties, and some of the Pulitzer scholars are to be found in the front rank of their classes. At the last commencement of the City College two prize medals were awarded to one of these scholars. There were no less than sixty-three competitors for the twelve scholarships of 1892, and many of them passed most creditably at the examination for admission to the City College. The records of the examination showed that the competitors generally were fully qualified to pursue a collegiate course. The Committee on Award, consisting of three competent gentlemen, after a very careful consideration of the merits of the several candidates, awarded the scholarships to twelve

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pupils of the public schools. These boys have every reason to feel proud at their success in a contest against so many earnest competitors. The extent of the educational plan formed and already put into partial operation by the donor of these scholarships, will be better comprehended when it is known that nearly eight thousand dollars will be paid to the thirty-one scholars who will pursue a collegiate course during the years 1892–1893. EDITOR.

THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

As soon as the Protestant Episcopal Church was fairly organized in this country, its attention was directed to making provision for the education of its candidates for holy orders. As early as 1810 the Rev. Richard Channing Moore, D. D., afterward Bishop of Virginia, in a sermon preached in Philadelphia, earnestly presented the benefits which would accrue to the church "from the establishment of some school in which instruction in the Scriptures and theology in general, with suitable preparation for the ministry, might be obtained." At the same date churchmen in South Carolina expressed their desire for the establishment of a theological seminary under the direction of the General Convention.

The Rev. John H. Hobart, D. D., before his consecration as bishop, endeavored to provide for the establishment of such a seminary by purchasing a beautiful site in New Jersey, about eighteen miles from New-York, on Short Hills, near what is now called the town of Summit. In 1813 he brought the matter before the convention of his diocese, and in the following spring put forth a scheme for a "Theological Grammar School," to be a stepping-stone to a higher seminary. To this school he pledged his services as a teacher, so far as official duties would permit. Its purpose was, as he stated, to take the candidates early, and train them faithfully "in the spirit of evangelical piety; in habits of close thinking and accurate research; in theological attainments; in the proper mode of celebrating holy offices; in pulpit eloquence; and in the still more important practical qualifications which constitute the faithful, laborious and zealous parish minister." For, as he wisely added, "the spirit of the ministry, such as it was in the primitive times, and such as the church now requires, must be formed in *retirement* by study and meditation and prayer." His prospectus anticipated and mapped out the scheme of a seminary, which in after years received the sanction of the whole church. The course of study was to be that prescribed by the canons, and the instruction to be "under the control of the authorities of the church." The institution was to be "under the patronage of the General Convention," and cared for by a board of trustees (of which the bishops were to be ex-officio members), who

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were required to "render an account of the state of the institution to the General Convention at its stated meetings."

The honor of making the first motion in the General Convention, contemplating a general theological seminary for the whole church, belongs, however, to the deputies from the diocese of North Carolina. The Rev. Christopher E. Gadsden offered the following resolution in the General Convention of 1814: "Resolved that, with the consent of the House of Bishops, a joint committee of both houses be appointed, to take into consideration the institution of a theological seminary, and, if they should deem the same expedient, to report a plan for the raising of funds, and generally for the accomplishment of the object." Nothing was done but to refer the whole matter to the bishops to consider and report at the next General Convention. The question was not allowed to drop by its friends, and when the bishops reported in the following General Convention the sense of their respective dioceses on the subject of a theological school, it was determined to establish a general seminary in New-York. As the Rev. Dr. Samuel R. Johnson quaintly records, "It was in the city of New-York, in Trinity Church, on Tuesday, the 27th day of May, 1817, in the morning, that the General Theological Seminary was born." The plan, as originally proposed by the House of Deputies, contemplated that it should be governed by a board of twenty-two trustees, consisting of the senior bishop, the bishop of the diocese in which the seminary was established, and ten clergymen and ten laymen elected by the General Convention. Committees were appointed to secure funds and to carry into operation the plan proposed for the institution. Bishops William White, John H. Hobart, and John Croes united with prominent laymen in furthering the plan. In 1819 Clement C. Moore, of the city of New-York, offered for the purpose, through Bishop Hobart, sixty lots, comprising the block now called Chelsea Square, bounded by Ninth and Tenth avenues and Twentieth and Twenty-first streets, on condition that the buildings of the theological school should be erected thereon. This offer was accepted, and the Rev. Drs. Samuel F. Jarvis and Samuel H. Turner were appointed professors to open the school. The work was actually begun on May 1, 1819; and six students composed its first class, among

Clement C. Moore

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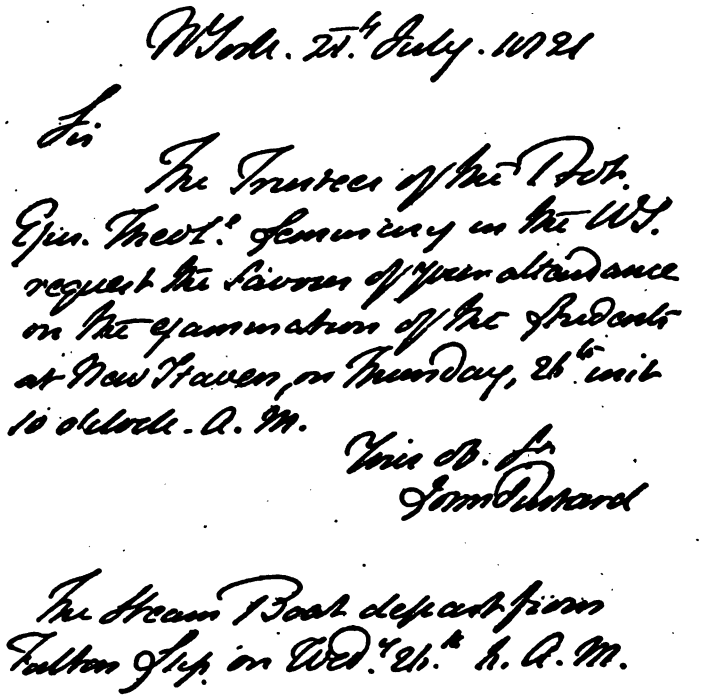
whom were George Washington Doane, afterward Bishop of New Jersey; Manton Eastburn, afterward Bishop of Massachusetts; and Benjamin Dorr, the well-known author, and rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia. The professors met the students for a short time in a small apartment over the vestry-room of St. Paul's Chapel, and afterward in the vestry-room of St. John's Chapel, in Varick street. On the approach of cold weather, as the vestry of Trinity Church were not willing to provide the fuel for heating the room in St. John's Chapel (so little was the seminary appreciated), the professors gladly accepted the offer by Lawson Carter of a room in the building occupied by him for a young ladies' school, on the northwest corner of Broadway and Cedar street. Here the seminary remained during


N York. 21st July. 1821

Sir

The Trustees of the Prot. Epis. Theol. Seminary in the U.S. request the favour of your attendance on the examination of the Students at New Haven, on Thursday, 26th inst. 10 o'clock. A. M.

Your ob. Sr.
Tom Lothrop

The Steam Boat depart from Fulton Slip on Wed. 25th. 8. A. M.

the winter of 1819 and 1820, until it was removed to New Haven. The motive for this removal was partly the lack of funds to sustain the institution in "so expensive a city" as New-York, and partly that the "professors and students could have access to public libraries, enjoy the benefits resulting from literary society, and live comfortably at a moderate expense."

The trustees now adopted a fuller plan for its organization, looking to the employment of three professors, and extending the course over a period of three years. Plans were also devised for the endowment of the professorships, for the establishment of scholarships for indigent students, and for fellowships "which might be given to students

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who distinguish themselves during their seminary course, and who shall remain in the institution, unmarried, for three years more, and apply themselves exclusively to theological studies." The seminary was opened in New Haven, September 13, 1820, with an inaugural discourse delivered in Trinity Church by the Rev. Dr. Turner. Bishop Thomas C. Brownell tendered his services gratuitously, and removed his residence to New Haven, that he might devote to the seminary such portions of his time as were not occupied by his episcopal duties. Twenty-one students entered during the first year.

Bishop Hobart and the diocese of New-York were not, however, satisfied with its removal, and, in connection with "The Protestant Episcopal Education Society of the State of New-York," took measures to establish a theological seminary in the city of New-York, with a branch school at Geneva. The New-York school was opened in 1821, with Bishop Hobart, Clement C. Moore, Gulian C. Verplanck, and the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk as professors. The branch school at Geneva was also opened in the same year, with the Rev. Daniel McDonald and the Rev. Orin Clark as professors.

In the mean time Jacob Sherred, a vestryman of Trinity Church, died, leaving a will which contained a legacy of sixty thousand dollars to a "Seminary to be established in the city of New-York, for the education of young men designed for holy orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." Both the General Theological Seminary at New Haven and the seminary in New-York claimed this legacy. A special meeting of the General Convention was held in Philadelphia to consider this question; and it was finally decided to remove the General Seminary back from New Haven to New-York, and, by uniting it with the Diocesan School there, to form the present General Theological Seminary, and to convey to it Mr. Sherred's legacy. Thus the great question of the establishment of one general seminary, to be permanently established in New-York, was finally settled. It is not too much to say that this decision and settlement were largely owing, under God, to Bishop Hobart's far-seeing wisdom and sagacious judgment. He foresaw from the outset that, if the seminary was to continue the general seminary of the whole church in this country, it must be situated in the city of New-York. In this view, as well as in the development of the plans for its organization, Bishop Hobart was sustained by laymen whose legal ability has rarely been equaled and never surpassed in the history of our country. Among them were such men as Chancellors Kent and Jones, Justices Livingston, Thompson, Van Ness, Irving, and Colden; the Ogdens, Hoffmans, Wells, Emmets, Spencers, Harrisons, Verplanck, Troup, Johnson, Duane, Clarkson, and Rufus King. It is seldom that any bishop could

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avail himself of so much legal ability and practical knowledge. An enduring monument remains. The charter, constitution, and statutes show the impress of hands which knew what they were about, providing for contingencies which, however unexpected, did not fail to occur.

The institution was thus fairly established at its inception as the "General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." It was reopened in New-York, February 13, 1822, with twenty-three students. An introductory address was delivered by Bishop Hobart in Trinity Church, and the classes attended the several professors in the rooms of Trinity school, on the northeast corner of Canal and Varick streets—an arrangement which was continued until they removed to what was known as the "East Building," on the present seminary grounds in Chelsea Square. The corner-stone of this building was laid, July 28, 1825, by Bishop White, assisted by Bishops Kemp, Croes, and Brownell. It was built of gray-stone, being 104 feet in length by 52 feet in depth, and contained at each end a house for a professor, while the middle portion was used for the library and for lectures and apartments for the students. Its arrangement was in every respect very inconvenient. Having but little to recommend it but its venerable associations, and having survived its usefulness, it was recently torn down, and replaced by three houses for the use of professors.

Chelsea Square, which is now surrounded by the closely built up city, was then an apple-orchard, with an entrance on what is now Ninth Avenue. The only approach to it was by a narrow road called Love Lane, running westerly from the Bloomingdale road, now Broadway. At that time there was scarcely a good brick house between it and Canal street. The high-water mark of the Hudson River was east of the present Tenth Avenue. It was, in fact, a quiet rural retreat on the banks of the river, far removed from the noise and bustle of the now crowded city, and where the devout student had every appliance to aid him in his work, with nothing to distract his mind, or call him off from his sacred studies. Then, as now, it was noted as being one of the healthiest portions of the island on which the city is built.

The erection of the East Building, at a cost of between thirty and forty thousand dollars, before the funds were secured for its completion, involved the institution in financial difficulty, and embarrassed it for many years. Efforts made for its relief were greatly hampered by the noble legacy of one hundred thousand dollars from Frederick Kohne, of Philadelphia, which was not paid for twenty-four years, and yet led church people to slacken their efforts and withhold contributions, then so urgently required. At the same time the action of the city authorities requiring the seminary to extend its ground

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two hundred feet further into the river, and build a bulkhead at its own expense, seriously added to the embarrassments; and, although the number of students had increased to sixty-four, the trustees were put to great straits to meet the professors' salaries and the necessary expenses of the institution. The Kohne legacy, while "promising future wealth, had, in fact, tended to temporary impoverishment," and had not Dr. Moore again come to its aid by building the second bulkhead ordered by the city in 1833, the trustees would probably have been compelled to close the institution; for, notwithstanding the earnest efforts made by its friends, and the self-devotion of its professors, who gave their services almost gratuitously, funds came in very slowly. The only professorship for which a partial endowment was obtained was that of the professorship of Ecclesiastical History, given by Peter G. Stuyvesant. The united efforts of Bishop Doane and the Rev. Drs. John McVickar and Henry Anthon secured but six thousand dollars, to be held in trust for the increase of the library; while the efforts of the alumni to raise twenty-five thousand dollars for the endowment of a professorship of Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence, owing to the financial difficulties in which the country became involved in 1837, signally failed.

Apart from its financial difficulties, with which it had to struggle, the seminary during this period enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity. It had, for the first twenty years of its existence, the confidence of the whole church. The ability of its professors and the character of its graduates attracted more students than it could accommodate. The controversy, however, which had begun in England over the Oxford movement gradually found its way to this country, and in 1841 invaded the peaceful precincts of Chelsea Square. It is difficult for us at this date, when party spirit is unknown in the church, to realize the excitement which this created. The ecclesiastical atmosphere was at a fever heat. Bishops and clergy, pastors and people, were marshaled against each other in hostile array. The newspapers were filled with angry controversy, and scarcely a week elapsed without a recriminating pamphlet being issued from the press. Rumors of unsoundness in the teaching of the professors filled the air, and, although a committee of investigation reported to the General Convention of 1844 that the entire course of study pursued in the seminary appeared to be in perfect accordance with the doctrines, discipline, and worship of the church, and such as was calculated to sustain its elevated character, and command the public confidence and respect, some of the trustees were not satisfied, and appeared to have lost all interest in the institution. The care and anxiety which these troubles entailed upon the Rev. Dr. Bird Wilson, who was then acting as dean, seriously undermined his health, and led him to resign the professor-

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ship of Systematic Divinity, which he had filled for twenty-seven years with distinguished honor and usefulness to the seminary and the church. Although he was induced by the trustees temporarily to withdraw his resignation, two years later, simultaneously with Professor Moore, he insisted upon its being accepted. Both these professors had served the seminary for twenty-nine years with singular fidelity, both had stood firm at their posts during a period of excitement which tried men's souls, and both left the impress of their saintly lives and characters on a generation of its students.

These difficulties, together with the increasing financial embarrassments, largely added to by the heavy assessments which the growing city laid upon its property, alienated many of its supporters, kept churchmen throughout the land from rallying around it, and absorbed nearly the whole of its small endowment. But for the self-denial of the professors, serving for years without salary, and the generous assistance of "The Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning in the State of New-York," the General Theological Seminary would have been merely a record of past history. The trustees were compelled to dispose of a large portion of the landed estate which had been created from filling in the land on the North River, to meet its debts, and even the question of its removal from the city was favorably entertained by the board. A donation of thirty acres of land at Mamaroneck, from Thomas R. Hawley, was accepted in 1870, with the condition that the trustees should, within five years, erect buildings upon the land for the purpose of a theological seminary. Fortunately this project was abandoned two years later, and the present admirable location on Chelsea Square providentially preserved for the future use of the institution.

During all these years the seminary was left without a permanent head, until the Rev. John M. Forbes, D. D., was elected its dean in October, 1869. Dr. Forbes administered the duties of his office with earnestness, zeal, and fidelity; but difficulties connected with the discipline of the institution impelled him to retire from it in November, 1872. The office was not again filled until June, 1875, when the Rev. Dr. George F. Seymour, now Bishop of Springfield, and then Professor of Ecclesiastical History, was elected dean, to serve as such in connection with his professorship. He continued to discharge the arduous and responsible duties of both positions with his well-known zeal until June, 1879, when he resigned to devote himself exclusively to his diocese. During his connection with the seminary, Dr. Seymour initiated and carried out many important improvements, notwithstanding he had to contend with want of sufficient means to pay the current expenses. He fitted up a new chapel in the East Building; removed the library to the West Building, where it was comparatively

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free from danger from fire; made important improvements in the dormitories; reorganized the refectory, which protects the students from the injurious associations of cheap boarding-houses; and was instrumental in effecting the reformation of the calendar of the seminary, by which it was brought into harmony with the ecclesiastical year. He was succeeded in his office as dean by the present incumbent, in 1879.

From this period the seminary may be said to have taken a new lease of life. The spirit which in its early history led such men as Moore, and Sherred, and Lorillard, and Kohne, and Stuyvesant to make it the recipient of their noble gifts, began to revive. The endowment of the professorship of Pastoral Theology by the late Samuel Verplanck Hoffman has been followed by others, enabling the seminary, for the first time in its history, to meet its current expenses, and to pay its professors salaries commensurate with the importance of their labors and the expenses of living in a great city. The noble gift of George A. Jarvis, of Brooklyn, founding the Bishop Paddock lectureship on the plan of the well-known Bampton lectureship in Oxford, has already given to the church ten very able courses of lectures. The endowment of the "John H. Talman Fellowship" by Miss Caroline Talman, of this city, has been followed by the establishment of three fellowships by Miss Emma Carrington Mayo, of Elizabeth, New Jersey; and these will undoubtedly secure other monuments of like character. Besides the ample foundation for the office of dean, five professorships have been more or less adequately endowed, and funds have been left for the employment of instructors in elocution and church music. The personal property of the institution now amounts to about seven hundred thousand dollars, and the library numbers 22,360 volumes. There has been erected by the contribution of individuals during the past ten years a series of new buildings, surrounding one half of Chelsea Square, costing $500,000, and giving the seminary a material equipment for its work unequaled by any other theological institution in this country.

E. A. Hoffman

This result is largely due to the fact that, before proceeding to the

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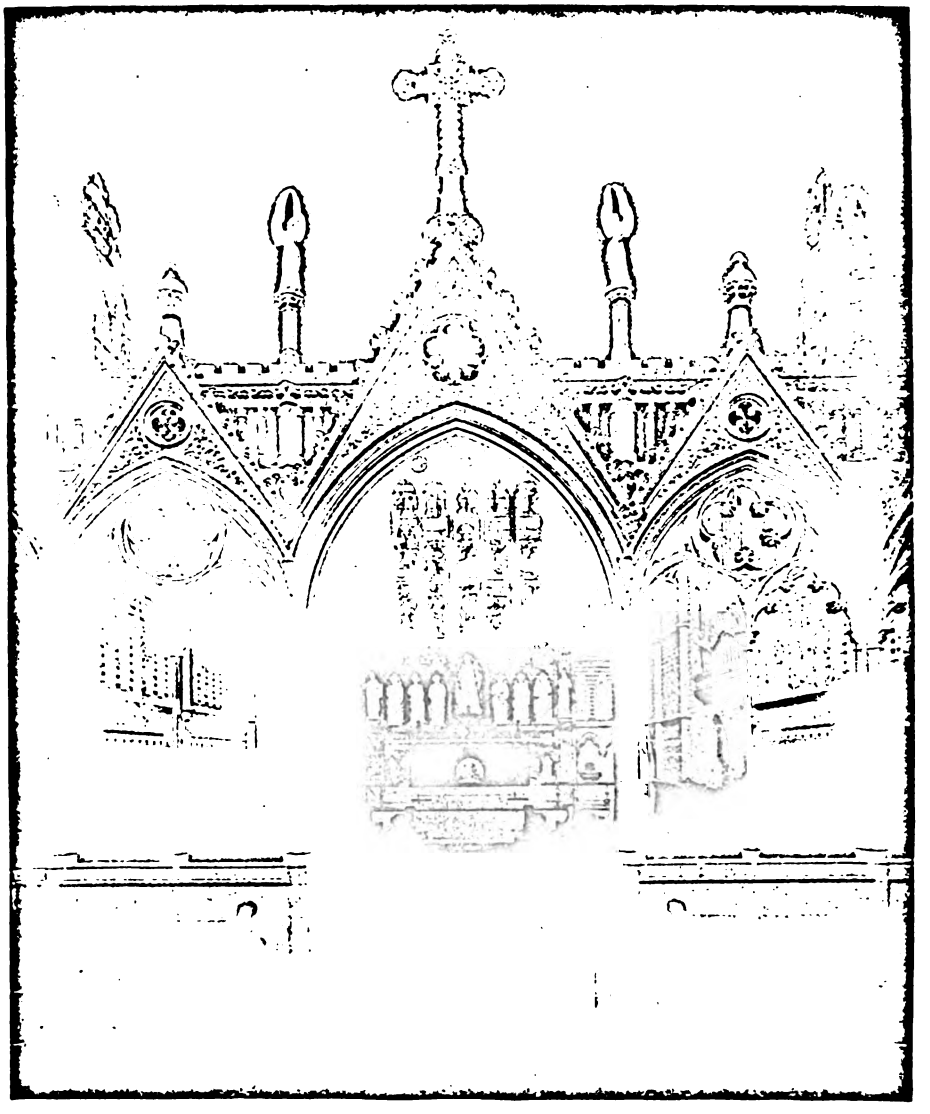
erection of any of these buildings, the board of trustees, in 1882, after deciding to keep the seminary on Chelsea Square as its permanent site, wisely instructed its committee to procure a complete plan for a pile of buildings which the future development of the seminary would require, and then to proceed with their erection as means were pro-



HOFFMAN MEMORIAL CHAPEL.

vided and the growth of the institution demanded. Employing Charles C. Haight, the son of the late Rev. Dr. Benjamin I. Haight, who filled for many years the chair of Pastoral Theology, a plan was obtained which will, when completed, occupy the whole square, combining in a remarkable degree economy of cost with simplicity of con-

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struction and dignity of appearance, and which will provide accommodation for two hundred students and fellows, together with residences for the dean and all the members of the faculty. One half of the plan has already been erected. Beginning with the deanery, which stands on the northwest corner of Twentieth street and Ninth avenue, we come next to Jarvis Hall, erected chiefly by funds provided by Mr. Jarvis, of Brooklyn, which extends along the Ninth Avenue front to the large fire-proof library building on the corner of Twenty-first street and Ninth Avenue. Jarvis Hall, through the center of which is the entrance to the grounds by a large gateway, furnishes on its first floor reception-rooms, a post-office, and the superintendent's offices, while the upper stories are devoted to students' rooms. Adjoining the library, on Twenty-first street, are Pintard and Dehon Halls — dormitories, named from early benefactors of the seminary, and devoted to students' rooms. Next to them stands the noble Sherred Hall, the memorial to Mr. Sherred, which provides large lecture-rooms, with private rooms attached, for each professor in the seminary. Beyond it are Dodge and Kohne Halls — dormitories, also devoted to students' rooms. All the dormitory buildings are completely furnished, and arranged in suites of rooms, each suite having a large, sunny study, with two outside bedrooms attached. Beyond these buildings stands the magnificent "Memorial Chapel of the Good Shepherd," with its richly carved oak furniture, mosaic floor, beautifully stained glass windows, and exquisite alabaster reredos with all the figures in statuary marble, erected by Mrs. Glorvina Rossell Hoffman "to the glory of God, and in loving memory of her husband, Samuel Verplanck Hoffman." This chapel dominates the long series of buildings, and as a college chapel is confessedly without a peer on this side of the Atlantic. The music of the services, which is conducted entirely by the students, and in which the Gregorian music is exclusively adopted, attracts daily large numbers of people from various parts of the city. In addition to these buildings, there are now being erected on the Twentieth-street side of the square, near the site of the old East Building, three houses for the use of professors. These houses complete the east quadrangle, which reminds the visitor of one of the old "quads" in Oxford or Cambridge. Simultaneously with these substantial improvements, the faculty has been materially enlarged, the educational standard steadily raised, and the number of students more than doubled.

These, and other tokens which might be mentioned, show that the General Theological Seminary has entered on a new era in its history, and one which insures for all time its future usefulness to the church of the living God. It only remains for those to whom God has given the means to still further add to its noble endowments, and to provide

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for the erection of the additional buildings which are already required by the increasing number of its students. Let us remember the good deeds of the faithful friends whom God has raised up for this seat of sacred learning, and render him praise for his unnumbered mercies, in placing it in a condition for enlarged and expanded influence to this generation and to the generations that are yet to come.

UNIVERSITY OF NEW-YORK

THE University of the City of New-York was planned in 1829 and 1830 in several meetings of public-spirited merchants and professional men, and incorporated in 1831. The idea was to offset Episcopalian and conservative Columbia with an undenominational modern university. Until 1883 a part of the council was elected by the city legislature, and it was forbidden that any religious denomination should have a majority in the council. John Taylor Johnston and Charles Butler, recent presidents of the council, have served in it respectively forty-six years and fifty-six years. The property of the university, all of which has come from gifts and bequests, amounts to about two million dollars. The university building, on Washington Square, erected in 1832–35, is a conspicuous structure of light-colored limestone, in Gothic architecture, and contains the council-room, with its many portraits of distinguished members of the council, and the class-rooms and laboratories, museum, and observatory of the Department of Arts and Science. In this noble building Professor Samuel F. B. Morse discovered the recording telegraph, and Dr. John William Draper made the first photographs from the human face. The university has about one hundred professors and instructors and one thousand two hundred students. The chancellors have been Drs. James Matthews, Theodore Frelinghuysen, Isaac Ferris, Howard Crosby, John Hall, and Henry M. MacCracken (the chancellor at the present time).

In 1881–92 the university took an important step in purchasing for three hundred thousand dollars a new site, intended in particular for the College of Arts and Philosophy, the technological schools, and the Graduate Seminary. The School of Law, the School of Pedagogy, and part of the graduate seminary work will remain upon Washington Square, where a new building will be erected, of which probably seven or eight stories will be rented for business purposes, while two or three stories will be reserved for the schools named and for university offices and popular lectures. The medical school will continue as at present. The new site is an elevated plateau of twenty acres, accessible by railway in less than twenty minutes from Forty-second

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street. It is to be known as "University Heights," and is admirably adapted to university purposes.

The Department of Arts and Science dates from 1832, and for over half a century consisted of a college on the approved American plan, with from one hundred to one hundred and fifty students. University College now has twenty-six professors and lecturers, and its classical and scientific courses lead respectively to the degrees of bachelor of arts and bachelor of science. Among its professors have been the four Drapers, Vethake, McIlvaine, and Robinson; John Torrey, the botanist; Tayler Lewis, the philologist; George Bush, the commentator; Nordheimer, the Hebraist; Henry P. Tappan, the philosopher; Davies and Loomis, the mathematicians; and S. F. B. Morse, the inventor. The School of Civil Engineering and the School of Chemistry, two well-conducted institutions for technical training, are controlled by the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, which also conducts the School of Pedagogy, founded in 1890 to give higher training to teachers in psychology and ethics, the theory and practice of pedagogy, and the history, classics, and systems of education. There are two hundred and sixty students in the school. The Graduate Seminary, founded in 1886, receives candidates for the degrees of master of arts and science and doctor of philosophy. Over one hundred graduate students are at present (1893) in attendance, and thirty special courses are provided.

The Department of Law, with its undergraduate and graduate schools, has its lecture-room and library in the university building. The foundation of this faculty was carefully planned in the year 1835 by Benjamin F. Butler, then attorney-general of the United States. The council of the university adopted this plan, and Mr. Butler accepted the office of senior professor. The law school was soon suspended, and again opened in 1858; but it is only during the past few years that it has advanced to a prominent rank. In that period "it has changed its character from a school of law forms to a school of jurisprudence," and develops at once the systematic study of statute law and the observation of professional methods of research and practice. The dean and senior professor is Austin Abbott, LL. D., and there are three other professors and six lecturers. The course is of two years, with several advanced courses in the graduate year. There are two hundred and forty students (nearly half of them college graduates), including also ten women. The Graduate Law School was opened in 1891 with forty pupils, and requires the completion of five subjects for the degree of master of laws. The university also gives popular courses of lectures on law, in particular to business women, every winter. This lectureship is endowed by the Women's Legal Education Society. Theology is not taught by the university;

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but in 1890 an alliance was formed with the Union Theological Seminary, by which students of either institution are admitted under easy conditions to the libraries and lecture courses of the other. Also the graduates of Union Seminary, it has been decided, may receive the degree of bachelor of divinity.

The Faculty of Medicine (University Medical College), founded in 1841, numbered among its earlier members Drs. Valentine Mott, Bedford, Post, Draper, and Paine. Its buildings are on Twenty-sixth street, near the East River, fronting Bellevue Hospital, and near the ferry entrance to the great city charities. They consist of the central edifice, which includes the office, with the lecture-room and amphitheater, either of which seats five hundred students; the west wing, in which are the dispensary and eight "section rooms"; and the east wing, to which the anonymous giver of one hundred thousand dollars for its erection attached the name of the "Loomis Laboratory," after the senior professor. Its five floors contain the five laboratories of materia medica, physics, chemistry, physiology, biology, and pathology. There are twenty-three professors and thirty-five lecturers. Three winter courses, each comprising eight months' study, are required for the degree of doctor of medicine. The University Medical College has six hundred and forty students, of whom thirty came from Canada, thirty from Russia, and many others from Central and South America, and other countries. Among its six thousand graduates have been many illustrious physicians and scientists.

THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK

In the year 1846 there was great dissatisfaction existing in the city, owing to the fact that so few pupils were receiving education of a higher order than that furnished by the public schools, and a demand was made shortly after that the public funds expended for higher education should be so disposed of as to give "the greatest good to the greatest number."[1] Townsend Harris, then president of the Board of Education, in order to meet this difficulty, proposed to the board that a committee be appointed to inquire as to the expediency of applying to the legislature for a portion of the literature fund, to partially support a free high school, or college, for the benefit of pupils of the public schools of the county of New-York. At that period the total number of students at Columbia College and the University of the City of New-York, the only collegiate institutions then in the city, was but two hundred and forty-five, while the other recipients of the fund,

[1] Report of Select Committee, Board of Education, Doc. No. 8, Jan. 20, 1847.

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aside from being private corporations, were teaching few of the branches required by a people so eminently commercial. The need of some free institution for the higher departments of learning appeared therefore urgent, and it was also considered that such an institution, by requiring a rigid examination for entrance, would compel the public schools to teach the usual branches more thoroughly, and by furnishing a standard of comparison of the results of the work of the various schools, would increase their efficiency and usefulness. The resolution was adopted July 27, 1846, and Mr. Harris, James G. King, and James S. Bosworth were appointed members of the committee, who having reported favorably on January 20, 1847, a memorial was presented to the legislature, and on May 7 following an act was passed authorizing the establishment of a free academy, or college, provided the approval of the people of the city was obtained. At the election of school officers in the succeeding June the act was ratified by a large majority. The site was purchased and the building erected with moneys from taxes levied by the Board of Supervisors, who also provided an income for its support and maintenance.

The curriculum of the Free Academy was to equal that of the best endowed college in the State, with the addition of some subjects of a polytechnic nature; and the applicant for admission was required to be not less than twelve years of age, to have been instructed one year in a public school, and to have acquired a thorough knowledge of arithmetic, geography, grammar, definitions, spelling, and history of the United States. To enable the boys from the public schools to prepare for the proposed college course, an introductory or preparatory course of one year was established. Two general courses of study were offered, the Board of Education having decided that while the Free Academy could not refuse the offer of a classical course to the student, giving full instruction in the ancient languages, it would have for its general object the establishing of a strong scientific course, following broadly the plan adopted at the West Point Military Academy. At the opening examination, January 15, 1848, the corps of instructors consisted of the principal, nine professors and adjunct professors, and four assistants; the first introductory class numbered one hundred and fifty-three.

The general line of the aim of the college is set forth in the following extract from the address of Robert Kelly at the opening of the college: "The form that the institution must necessarily take in order that it may not be of partial benefit will be intermediate between the college system and that of the polytechnic schools of Europe. It will embrace portions of both those systems, imbuing its course of classical and liberal education with something of a practical spirit, and uniting its course of business, mechanical, and industrial education

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with general mental culture, aiming in each case to impart a knowledge of principles, and teaching thoroughly the science as well as its adaptations. It must not take any exclusive direction." The courses of study in the City College have been gradually worked out in conformity to the lines originally laid down in Mr. Kelly's address. Unique at first in some of their features, they have, indeed, become less so, as in the colleges generally an increasing importance has been assigned to modern languages and to scientific studies. But the course still possesses a character of its own which has commended itself to the judgment of multitudes of our citizens wishing for their children a practical as well as liberal culture, and one within their means as regards the time required for the completion of a liberal course of study from "start to finish." The city in maintaining the City College taxes itself only for the support of a course of studies which its own authorities have devised, and which they still, and they only, control. It furnishes a strictly general culture, leaving professional branches to the universities: a training, however, so varied in the three departments of the college — the classical, scientific, and mechanical — as to meet more or less fully the wants of all who in such a community as ours may desire the benefits of higher education.

The first president of the Free Academy was Dr. Horace Webster, a graduate of West Point, who held the office until July 21, 1869, a period of twenty-one years. In 1854 the legislature passed a law endowing the institution with collegiate powers and privileges, so far as pertained to the conferring upon its graduates of the usual collegiate degrees and diplomas in the arts and sciences. In 1866 the legislature changed the name to that of "The College of the City of New-York," and conferred on the institution the powers and privileges of a college, rendering it subject to the provisions of the Revised Statutes of the State relative to colleges, and to the visitation of the regents of the university, in like manner with other colleges of the State. In 1882 an act was passed repealing the provision which had made one year's attendance at the public schools of the city a requisite for admission.

The spacious buildings devoted to the college are situated on the corner of Lexington Avenue and Twenty-third street, immediately contiguous to the quiet neighborhood of Gramercy Park, and their appointments are very complete. A library of 28,000 volumes is at the disposal of the students, and a commodious workshop is provided, together with valuable apparatus and collections. The college requires the services of forty professors and tutors, has an attendance of over twelve hundred students, and costs the city $160,000 a year. General Alexander S. Webb is the president, having succeeded to the office in 1869, upon Dr. Webster's retirement.

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THE NORMAL COLLEGE

Up to the close of the Civil War the growth of the normal system of teaching in the United States was slow and uncertain. The first school for the training of teachers was established at Rheims, in France, in 1681, by the Abbé Jean Baptist de la Salle. From thence it spread over France and Germany, and raised teaching from a mere trade to a learned profession. The first attempt to establish a public normal school in the United States was made by James G. Carter, in Lancaster, Massachusetts, in 1827; but although the governor favored the movement, and the committee of the legislature to whom the subject had been referred recommended it, it failed because public opinion was opposed to it. In 1838 the celebrated Horace Mann, secretary of the Board of Education, sent a communication to the legislature in which he stated that private munificence had placed at his disposal ten thousand dollars for the purpose of establishing a school for the education and training of teachers. After mature deliberation three State normal schools were founded, the first at Lexington, the second at Barré, and the third at Bridgewater.

The first to advocate the normal system of teaching in the State of New-York was the distinguished Governor De Witt Clinton, who, in his message of 1825, recommended to the legislature the education of competent teachers. Again, in the following year, he said: "I therefore recommend a seminary for the education of teachers in those useful branches of knowledge which are proper to engraft on elementary attainments." The great governor was ably assisted by the efforts of John C. Spencer and John A. Dix. General Dix, when State Superintendent, recommended the founding of separate schools for the training of teachers, modeled after the plan of the Prussian system, then considered the best in the world. Finally, in 1844, the committee on colleges, academies, and common schools made a report to the legislature recommending the establishment of a normal school in Albany. The public-spirited citizens of the capital offered a suitable building without rent, and the school was organized and set in operation in December, 1844. Normal schools were subsequently established at Oswego, Brockport, Fredonia, Cortland, Potsdam, Geneseo, Buffalo, and New Paltz.

The Public School Society of the City of New-York had at an early day adopted the monitorial system of Bell and Lancaster, by which one master or mistress by means of the older pupils could manage and "teach" a school of five hundred children. Of course, these paid monitors, whose salaries ranged from twenty-five dollars to one hundred and fifty dollars, sadly needed instruction in order to do some good to the little ones committed to their tender mercies. The system

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was cheap and poor, and to remedy it some of the wiser members of the society established a so-called normal school for males and females; the school for males being held on Wednesday afternoons, and that for the females on Saturday mornings. In this school or schools there had been no attempt to teach the theory and practice of teaching. There was no instruction given except in the ordinary English branches, and a little Latin to some of the boys. After the union of the Board of Education with the Public School Society in 1853, this "normal" school was abolished. The Board of Education then established a daily normal school, which, for lack of proper management, proved a total failure. It was really a misnomer to call it a normal school. The Board reëstablished the Saturday normal school in 1864, and placed it under the charge of Henry Kiddle. Now, for the first time, there was real normal work. One point, however, must not be overlooked. The Board of Education, as a rule, placed able teachers in these several schools; and it must be admitted that the influence of a superior instructor is in itself an important factor in normal work.

In 1869 the Board of Education elected by the people was abolished by the legislature, and power given to the then mayor, A. Oakey Hall, to appoint twelve commissioners to constitute a new board. Its members went diligently to work to ascertain the defects of the educational system, and very soon discovered that the chief necessity was educated and trained teachers. In studying the school law they perceived that the statute establishing the Free Academy, now the College of the City of New-York, authorized the Board of Education to establish one or more similar institutions for girls. Why this provision of the statute has been neglected for nearly a quarter of a century it is difficult to understand. At the close of 1869, under this authority, the board adopted certain by-laws establishing the Normal and High School, chiefly through the influence and under the direction of William Wood. In order to obviate the "law's delay," temporary quarters were hired on the southeast corner of Broadway and Fourth street; and a president, Thomas Hunter, and a vice-president, Arthur H. Dundon, were appointed and sent forth into other States, as well as New-York, to examine into and report upon the condition of normal schools. In the mean time a staff of professors and tutors was employed. On February 14, 1870 (St. Valentine's day), the Normal College was formally opened with an attendance of about seven hundred students, who were transferred from the supplementary classes of the public schools. These were classes which had finished the first grade, and were permitted to pursue advanced studies for one or two years. It was from these classes that the several boards of trustees obtained their teachers. The taking away of this patronage increased the difficulties of the organization of the college.

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In the mean time Mr. Wood had the name Normal and High School changed to Normal College. The board applied for and obtained a site for a superior edifice, north of Fortieth street, intending to take a part of Bryant Square, then considered the most central place in the city. Fortunately, Bryant Square was refused by the city authorities, and a portion of Hamilton Park given instead. The boundaries of the site are Park and Lexington avenues and Sixty-eighth and Sixty-ninth streets. It is perhaps one of the finest situations in the city. It was then in the suburbs; now it is nearly central. In 1872 workmen commenced to dig the foundation, and in the fall of 1873 the college was removed from Fourth street to the new edifice, then considered the finest and best equipped single building in the country supported at public expense. The ground on which it stands is worth at least five hundred thousand dollars, and the building with its appliances cost four hundred thousand dollars. Add to these sums one hundred thousand dollars for the erection and equipment of the training department in 1874, and the total value of the college is one million dollars. There are four courses of study pursued: a normal course, especially adapted for teachers; an academic course, for those who intend to work for the degree of A. B.; a manual training postgraduate course, and a course in the kindergarten, for those who intend to teach these two special subjects in the public schools.

The expansion of the college, for several reasons, was difficult of accomplishment. In 1881 an additional year was given to the course, for the purpose of allowing more time for pedagogic instruction. Again, in 1888, the Board of Education prepared a bill making the Normal College a real college, with the power to confer degrees, and with all the rights and privileges appertaining to the colleges of the State. Through the efforts of the then President of the Board, J. Edward Simmons, and William Wood, aided by the alumnæ, the bill was passed through both houses of the legislature with but one dissenting vote. The attendance is, in round numbers, eighteen hundred students, one third of whom pursue the academic course and two thirds the normal. This is exclusive of the training department (which is, to all intents and purposes, a grammar and primary school for the accommodation of the children in the immediate neighborhood), which contains about twelve hundred pupils, divided into fourteen grades, which are used as classes for practice in teaching by the college seniors during their last year. The college receives from the city one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars for its support; but as the training department costs about twenty-five thousand dollars, the whole cost for the eighteen hundred students is a little less than one hundred thousand dollars—that is, at the rate of fifty-six dollars per capita; and this includes everything, even to the price of a lead-pencil.

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MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

THE initial steps for the formation of the American Museum of Natural History were taken in the year 1868, the act of incorporation being granted by a special charter from the legislature, April 6, 1869. Seventeen incorporators were named in the act — John David Wolfe, Benjamin H. Field, Adrian Iselin, Benjamin B. Sherman, William A. Haines, Theodore Roosevelt, Howard Potter, William T. Blodgett, Morris K. Jesup, Robert Colgate, Robert L. Stuart, D. Jackson Steward, J. Pierpont Morgan, A. G. Phelps Dodge, Charles A. Dana, Joseph H. Choate, and Henry Parish. Of these gentlemen only six remain in the board of trustees at the present time. Immediately following the action of the legislature a permanent organization was effected, and in a short time subscriptions amounting to fifty-two thousand dollars were secured, mostly from the incorporators. With this sum the then famous collections of mammals and birds owned by Prince Maximilian of New Wied, Germany, the Verreaux collection, the Elliot collection, and others of lesser note, were purchased at a total expenditure of forty-five thousand dollars. The first president of the museum was John David Wolfe, who was elected April 8, 1869, and who died May 17, 1872. Robert L. Stuart succeeded him November 11 of the same year, and served as president for a term of nine years. His death occurred December 12, 1882. Morris K. Jesup became the president February 14, 1881, and continues in that office at the present date. The museum since its organization has lost by death the following trustees: John David Wolfe, Robert L. Stuart, William A. Haines, Theodore Roosevelt, William T. Blodgett, Robert Colgate, Joseph W. Drexel, Benjamin B. Sherman, Hugh Auchincloss, Henry G. Stebbins, Moses H. Grinnell, Richard M. Blatchford, John B. Trevor, Benjamin H. Field, and Charles G. Landon, all of whom served the institution with fidelity and enthusiasm, and who not only enriched the museum by their munificent gifts, but also devoted to it their time, influence, and wise counsel, and with their associates laid the foundation of that which is now a glory and pride to this metropolis. The corner-stone of the first wing of the edifice was laid June 2, 1874, by President Grant, and the building was completed and opened to the public on December 22, 1880, by President Hayes. Through the action of the legislature, laws were passed in 1887 and 1889 authorizing the municipal authorities to erect and equip an additional building. Work was begun on the new wing during the spring of 1887; it was finished and formally given over to the trustees November 2, 1892.

The trustees are indebted to the citizens of this metropolis, through the action of the municipal government, for the construction of these two buildings, which, together with the cases and electric plant, have

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cost the sum of about one million and a half dollars. By the terms of an act of the legislature passed April 22, 1876, the Department of Public Parks was authorized and directed to enter into a contract with the trustees of the museum for the occupation by it of the buildings erected, or to be erected, in that portion of the Central Park known as Manhattan Square, and for the transfer thereto and establishing and maintaining therein its museum, library, and collections, and for the carrying out of the objects and purposes of the trustees.

The contract made in pursuance of the preceding enactment was entered into December 22, 1877, between the Department of Public Parks and this institution, which placed the trustees in possession and occupation of the premises, to have and to hold the same so long as they should continue to carry out the objects and purposes defined in the charter, or as any future amendment might authorize. It was further stipulated in the contract "that the trustees of the institution may appoint, direct, and control and remove all persons employed within said building, and in and about the care of said building, and the museum, library, and collections therein contained." The wise judgment evinced in this provision has been exemplified in the steady growth and unexampled prosperity of the institution. The interests of the museum have been zealously guarded and carefully watched and fostered by its successive boards of trustees, resulting in the acquirement of collections of the rarest merit and scientific value. The nominal value of the collections at the present time may safely be estimated at one million three hundred thousand dollars, to which must be added the endowment fund of three hundred and sixteen thousand dollars, the income of which, by agreement, must be devoted exclusively to the enrichment and enlargement of the collections through the purchase of new material.

An inspection of the list of members, as published in the various annual reports, demonstrates that a large number of our prominent citizens are in hearty sympathy with the appropriation of funds for the maintenance in this city of this and other institutions engaged in work of public benefaction and instruction. Their names are silent witnesses of their approval of what has been done by the city and the trustees. Among the many important and well-known collections in the museum, now on public display, are the Dr. James Hall paleontological and geological collections, representing the entire paleontology of New-York State; the collection of American gems and gem minerals; the Spang and minor collections of minerals; the Jay, the Steward, and Crooke collections of shells. The ethnological department embraces the Emmons collection of Alaskan objects; the collection from the Pacific Islands, formed by Appleton Sturgis; the series from British Columbia, known as the "Bishop collection"; the rare

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and extensive collection of archæological specimens gathered by James Terry; and the Kunz collection of jade objects and material, purchased by the trustees from George F. Kunz. In the department of mammals and birds will be found the great Lawrence collection of birds, the Herbert H. Smith collection of Brazilian birds, and the Mearns collection of American birds and mammals.

Among the notable material in the entomological department is the large and unique collection of butterflies and moths of this State, made by the late Dr. S. Lowell Elliot, and the large general collection formed by the late Harry Edwards. To these should be added the well-known collection of James Angus. In the library, which contains twenty-five thousand volumes, will be found the Brevoort collection of books on fishes, the Dr. Jay works on shells, those of D. G. Elliot on birds, the Edwards library on insects, the general library of the late Dr. Elliot, the Cotheal gifts on botany and microscopy, the Jewett library on voyages, that on general natural history subjects, the gift of S. P. Avery, and the rare edition of "Audubon's Quadrupeds of North America," presented by George H. Brown. Recent acquisitions are Bradford's great painting of the "English Arctic Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin," presented by several gentlemen through William F. Havemeyer. This is supplemented by the large canvas owned by Collis P. Huntington, depicting "The Polaris in the Ice, Thank God Harbor." The economic department, displayed on the ground floor of the building, contains the Jesup collection of native woods of North America, gathered under the direction and supervision of Professor Charles S. Sargent, director of the Arnold Arboretum, Harvard College, embracing examples of every known species of the forestry of this country, attached to which are water-colors illustrating the foliage, flower, and fruit of each species. Among other unique specimens may be mentioned an immense section of the redwood (*Sequoia sempervirens*), and the giant redwood (*Sequoia gigantea*). The sections of these noted trees were presented to the "Jesup Collection of Native North American Woods" by Collis P. Huntington. They measure respectively eleven feet and twenty-two feet in diameter. Here also are displayed groups representing the ravages of insects on forestry, and the collection of economic geology, containing specimens of building-stones from all parts of the country, showing to builders, architects, and mechanics the different kinds of building and ornamental stones,—granites, sandstones, limestones, etc.,—exhibiting their colors and textures, and labeled as to the quarry from which the material is obtained. To properly care for these and other valuable collections requires the attention, knowledge, and skill of the most experienced scientists as chiefs of the several departments, as well as intelligent and experienced assistants and caretakers. During no

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period since the opening of the first building have the receipts of the museum from the city or public equaled the expenditures. It has been the custom of the trustees to contribute each year the sum necessary to meet the deficiency, which in the aggregate amounts to one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.

Professor Henry F. Osborn of Columbia College has recently been appointed curator of the new department of mammalian paleontology, and he has secured an efficient staff for field, collection, and museum work, headed by Dr. J. L. Wortman, a very experienced collector. The plan of this department is to secure for exhibition and study a complete series of Western fossil mammals, from the earliest and smallest to the latest and largest, as they appeared on the American continent; and to illustrate especially the evolution of the horse, rhinoceros, and other existing animals. The "Bulletin" of the museum, now in its fourth volume, contains papers on a wide range of subjects, and takes a high rank among similar publications of scientific institutions. The curators are authorities of high standing and wide reputation in their special lines of research. The guides to the collections give not only the place of specimens in the cases, but form condensed handbooks of the subjects treated. The Department of Public Instruction, originally established by the trustees, has been carried on under the auspices of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction since 1884, and during that time Professor Albert S. Bickmore has delivered one hundred and fifty lectures upon the collections of the museum and the various countries he has personally visited. The attendance upon this instruction to the teachers of the city has increased so rapidly that the present lecture-hall has proved inadequate. These lectures are already repeated in the normal schools and teachers' institutes throughout the State.

THE MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.

The educational value of the exhibits cannot be made known to the people without the provision of guides, labels, and lectures, and by the publication of bulletins. The "Bulletin" is the medium through which

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the scientific work of the museum is made known to the public and to scientific investigators throughout the world. It is an octavo publication, illustrated with cuts in the text and with numerous plates. The fourth volume is now in press. It embraces papers on a wide range of subjects, and takes a high rank among similar publications of scientific institutions. In 1881 the trustees established a course of lectures to teachers, which system of instruction has proved so useful that from 1884 to the beginning of the present year it has been provided for by the State. The law of 1887, supplying the means for the new wing, required that it should contain a hall capable of seating at least one thousand persons, and the present lecture-room was accordingly provided; but already it has proved to be too small for the constantly increasing audiences, and last winter the legislature, in compliance with a memorial addressed to the mayor and signed by leading educators, authorized the city to add to the present buildings a new section that will contain an auditorium on a scale commensurate with the demands of this great city.

The first contract with the city provided that the exhibition halls should be opened to the public free on four days of the week, thus reserving two days for the uses of the members and their families. This proviso furnished an inducement to many of our citizens to become annual subscribers, and the funds accruing from this source have been of great value to the museum. During the last few years public opinion, as voiced by the press and otherwise, has demanded that the museum shall be entirely free to the citizens every day of the week, including the afternoon of Sunday and two evenings of the week. The desire of the trustees has been directed toward making the museum the greatest good for the greatest number, and thus meeting the supposed wishes of the people. Being fully aware that to do so would necessitate a largely increased expense for the maintenance of the museum, the board, with the knowledge and approval of the municipal authorities, made application last year to the legislature for the enactment of a law authorizing the Department of Public Parks, with the concurrence of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, to annually appropriate to this museum a sum not exceeding fifty thousand dollars, in addition to the twenty-five thousand dollars previously allotted, making the total sum of seventy-five thousand dollars available in each year.

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GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

SEVERAL gentlemen met at the house of Dr. David Parsons Holton, 124 West Fifty-fourth street, New-York, on February 27, 1869, and then and there the first steps were taken for the formation of the New-York Genealogical and Biographical Society, which was incorporated the same year. In the certificate of incorporation is the statement that "the particular business and objects of the society are to discover, procure, preserve, and perpetuate whatever may relate to genealogy and biography, and more particularly to the genealogies and biographies of families, persons, and citizens associated and identified with the State of New-York." The first meetings were held at the house of one of its members. By-laws were enacted, a seal adopted, officers elected, and gifts of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts — the beginning of a valuable library — were received. On July 7, 1869, the society held its first meeting at Mott Memorial Hall, 64 Madison Avenue, which was its headquarters until July, 1888, when for a little more than a year it occupied a room temporarily at the Berkeley Lyceum, 19 West Forty-fourth street. In the fall of 1889 the society removed to the new building adjoining the Lyceum, 23 West Forty-fourth street. It is hoped that in the near future it will have a permanent home in a commodious fire-proof building, where its treasures can be safely deposited and records of families, churches, and other organizations can be preserved from destruction by fire and other consuming elements. The legacy of $20,000 from Mrs. Elizabeth Underhill Coles, whose son was a life member of the society, would render this soon practicable, were it not for the efforts of relatives who are making efforts to frustrate her generosity to this and other organizations.

Meetings of the society are held on the second and fourth Fridays of the month, excepting in July, August, and September, the first meeting of the month being for addresses, the second for conversation and business. The library contains several thousand volumes, pamphlets, and rarities, many of which are of great value and beauty. It is open in the afternoons from two to five o'clock for the use of members and persons introduced by them. The society's first publication was in December, 1869, known as "Bulletin No. 1," which was so favorably received that in January following the first number of "The New-York Genealogical and Biographical Record" appeared, and it has been continued to the present time, now in its twenty-fourth volume. To those who are interested in investigations concerning the history of families and localities in this city and State, its pages are invaluable. In addition to the "Bulletin" and "Record," this society has published a handsome royal-octavo volume entitled

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"The Marriage and Baptismal Records of the Reformed Dutch Church in New Amsterdam and New-York from 1639 to 1800." Here, and here only, in print are to be found the names of the emigrants from Holland, and of their descendants for some generations, and of representatives of other nationalities as well, for the Dutch extended a welcome hospitality to all people. It is intended to publish two additional volumes, one of which is now in preparation.

Henry Reed Stiles was elected the first president of the society in 1869, and held the office until 1872. His successors have been Edward F. de Lancey, 1872–76; George S. Greene, 1877–80; Henry T. Drowne, 1881–85; and James Grant Wilson, 1886, still in office (1893). The society, although encountering indifference, in some instances ridicule, finds enthusiasts among quiet scholars who are sure that so long as the family is the foundation of nations, too much care cannot be taken to preserve its history. Among the society's two hundred and fifty annual, honorary, and life members, are representatives of almost all the Knickerbocker families of New-York, who very naturally feel an interest in their ancestors, and in the early annals of the American metropolis. The progress of the society has been slow, but sure, with always increasing numbers, and its outlook for great usefulness is constantly brightening.

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CHAPTER XXII

EPISCOPAL AND OTHER CHURCHES

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

AT the end of the war for independence in 1783, dark indeed were the prospects of what is now known as the Protestant Episcopal Church. Ever since the planting of the Church of England on these western shores, the progress and growth of the church had been hampered and hindered by obstacles and drawbacks, such as no branch of Christ's church has ever had to encounter elsewhere. With no organization; with absolutely nothing to bind together and unite the separate congregations scattered along the coast from Maine to Georgia; a church to all intents and purposes without a bishop; teaching the importance of confirmation, but utterly unable to administer it to her members; compelled to draw her clergy from the mother-country, or else to send her sons across the stormy Atlantic for ordination at a cost of one out of every five lost by shipwreck or pestilence, she struggled bravely on, slowly but surely gaining ground, and winning for herself a place and a name. At the beginning of the Revolution it has been computed that there were in all the colonies about three hundred parishes and two hundred and fifty clergy.[1] North of Maryland, with a few notable exceptions, these were all missionaries depending largely on the support given by the venerable English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

In New-York the progress of the church had not been very decided during the eighteenth century. Until the occupation of the Dutch settlements by the English in 1664, there had been probably no public service of the Church of England held within the colony. In fact until the organization of Trinity parish in 1697, there had been few such services save those conducted by the chaplains of the royal governors or of the forces quartered in the town. We need not dwell here on the history of those early days, which has been told already so well, nor on the difficulties which the church had to meet

[1] Perry's "History of the American Episcopal Church," Vol. I, p. 447.

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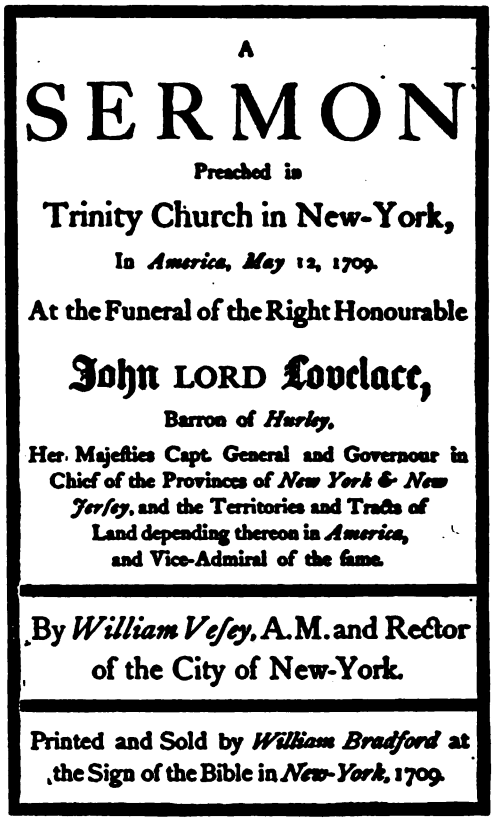
in New-York. Doubtless she had many; still the soil was not so hard and rugged as in New England.

"The Dutch had learned religious toleration in a hard school, and had learned their lesson well. In New-York alone of all the colonies, absolute religious liberty subsisted from the start. Even in Penn's colony no Jew, Turk, Infidel or Heretic" might live. New-York gave a home to everything that is human. Then the Jew first set foot in America. Lutherans, Puritans, Presbyterians, Huguenots, and Quakers dwelt undisturbed. Even when choleric old Peter Stuyvesant harried the Quakers and Lutherans, it was to satisfy a personal grudge, and his conduct was not sustained by the people. Dutch, French, and English were each spoken by so many that public documents required to be in all three tongues.[1] Moreover these early settlers were by no means set in their ways. The Dutch and the Huguenots were Presbyterians from necessity rather than from conviction, and "their theory of the presbytery came after the fact." The young, both of the Dutch and the Huguenots, were drawn to the Church of England, and many among them became active, consistent, loyal churchmen. The real opposition came later from the element brought in from New England and New Jersey.



A

SERMON

Preached in

Trinity Church in New-York,

In *America*, *May* 12, 1709.

At the Funeral of the Right Honourable

John LORD Lovelace,

Baron of *Hurley*,

Her Majesties Capt. General and Governour in Chief of the Provinces of *New York* & *New Jersey*, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending thereon in *America*, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

By *William Vesey*, A.M. and Rector of the City of New-York.

Printed and Sold by *William Bradford* at the Sign of the Bible in *New-York*, 1709.

At the beginning of the war in 1775, there were in New-York four congregations of the Church of England: Trinity, her two chapels,—St. George's built in 1752 in Beekman street, and St. Paul's built in 1766,—and a congregation worshiping in "some inconvenient place in Horse and Cart street, now William street."[2] In Westchester County the church had secured a foothold at Bedford, Newcastle, New Rochelle, North Salem, Peekskill, Rye, Yonkers, Eastchester, and Westchester. On Long Island the missionaries of the society had extended their labors from Brooklyn to Islip, with strong centers at Jamaica, New-

1 McConnell's "History of Episcopal Church," p. 62.

2 Centennial History of the Diocese, p. 65. Above is reduced copy of title-page. Errors.

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town, and Hempstead. On Staten Island, St. Andrew's, Richmond, must have been the spiritual home of a large part of the population. Up the Hudson the church had pushed her outposts as far as Albany, where there was a strong parish, while on either side of the river were congregations of more or less strength at Fishkill, Lithgow, Poughkeepsie, Newburg, and Walden. In a statement sent to the Bishop of London in 1761, the population of the colony of New-York is given as one hundred thousand, and the number of church people as twenty-five thousand.[1] Other authorities put the proportion of members of the Church of England at one fifteenth instead of one fourth.[2] Probably the truth lay midway between the two.

The long struggle for independence almost crushed the life out of the church. For many reasons her lot was far harder than that of any other religious body in the land. Her very name was a burden too heavy for her to bear. To be known as the Church of England was enough of itself to make her obnoxious to the mass of the people, even if there had been no other prejudice against her. A change in her name was an absolute necessity, and while, in the opinion of many, her present designation is awkward, cumbrous, and misleading, yet it was then a happy suggestion, and perhaps the best that could have been adopted. In New-York the greater part of the clergy and laity took the unpopular side in the conflict. While in Pennsylvania Duché and White, and in Massachusetts Bass and Parker, were among the first to espouse the side of the colonies, in New-York the clergy, as a whole, were opposed to the war, and sided with the crown. Inglis, Moore, Seabury, and Wilkins seem to have represented fairly the clergy. It was hard in those days to do these men justice, but the time has come when we can, to some extent at least, put ourselves in their place, and, while thinking them mistaken, give them full credit for the honesty and courage of their convictions. Most of them were missionaries of the society, and therefore dependent on their stipends from England, but they had a far more potent influence to hold them to that side,—they had taken at their ordination a solemn oath of allegiance to the king.[3] While some of them, like White and Parker, felt that the change in the political situation had released them from this oath, others, like Seabury, felt bound to observe it, and not only to abstain from any opposition to the government, but even to do all in their power to aid the royal forces in maintaining the authority of the crown.

Even the end of the war, the acknowledgment of the independence of the colonies, and the restoration of peace, did not bring rest and

[1] Wilberforce's "History of the American Church," p. 104.

[2] Smith's "History of New-York," p. 218. This, however, is the statement of an opponent, and of one who bitterly resented the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

[3] See McConnell's "History of the Episcopal Church," pp. 205–6.

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prosperity to the church. She seemed doomed to utter destruction. The bitter passions engendered by eight years of domestic strife could not die in a day. Very deep and bitter were those feelings here in New-York. Ever since 1776 the town had been held by the hated British, while Long Island and Westchester County had been debatable ground, harried and plundered by both sides. Those who remembered well the long list of outrages committed by the Tory refugees on that bloody ground felt that at last the time had come to pay off the old score, and to take full revenge for all they had suffered. Throughout the colonies "set in a period of personal violence, social persecution, and legal repression which is not a pleasant page in American history."[1] The work of confiscation, pillage, and destruction went on almost unchecked. Churches and parsonages were burned, and glebelands appropriated, for in many places both pastor and people had fled from the land, and sought a refuge in Nova Scotia or the Bermudas, while those who remained were too timid to protest, and glad enough to purchase immunity for themselves by holding their peace.

In New-York the outlook was dismal enough. Trinity Church, rectory, and school-houses had been burned in the great fire of 1776, which destroyed nearly one thousand houses, or about one fourth of the town. The two chapels of Trinity, St. George's and St. Paul's, were standing, but the fire had cut off a large part of the income of the parish, derived from the rents of the houses which had been burned. Outside of the town the prospect was still more dreary. In Westchester County the church seemed almost dead. Up to 1787 New Rochelle and Rye were the only places in the whole county which sent even a lay delegate to the convention of the newly organized diocese. Westchester village itself, where a church had been built as early as 1701, and a parish incorporated under a royal charter in 1762, was not represented in convention by a rector until 1794, and Eastchester, which in 1767 had been reported by Seabury as having a larger congregation than Westchester, and where at that time they had nearly completed the large, well-built stone edifice, still in use as the parish church, was represented in 1787 for the first time, and then only by a single lay delegate. On Long Island the war had been less disastrous, and Hempstead, Jamaica, Newtown, and Flushing were ready to respond promptly to the call to meet and confer together for the common welfare of the church.

The first step toward gathering together the fragments, and uniting these feeble, depressed, and scattered congregations, was taken at a meeting of a few clergymen from New-York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, held in New Brunswick in May, 1784. They had come together to consider the reorganization of the "Society for the Relief of the

[1] McConnell's History, p. 216.

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Widows and Orphans of Clergymen." Naturally they fell at once to discussing larger and broader questions, the necessity of securing the episcopate and of some kind of federation of the churches. On the second day of this meeting they heard, much to their surprise, from one of their number, the Rev. Benjamin Moore, that measures had already been taken in Connecticut to secure a bishop, that the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury had been elected, and had sailed for Europe nearly a year before. A call for a larger meeting was issued, and to this second conference came representatives from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, besides the three States of New-York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, previously represented, It was certainly a notable group of men. From Massachusetts came the courtly Parker, afterward its bishop; from New-York the stately Provoost, with his gentle associate Benjamin Moore, the first and second bishops of New-York; from Maryland the scholarly Dr. Smith, president of Washington College; and from Pennsylvania the saintly White, destined to be revered as the patriarch of the American Church for the next fifty years. These unofficial representatives of the churches and congregations in seven States agreed to recommend the church in each of the thirteen States to send duly accredited deputies to a general convention to be held in Philadelphia on the Tuesday before St. Michael's Day, September 27, 1785.

In accordance with this recommendation, on Wednesday, June 22, 1785, the first convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York was held in New-York city. St. Paul's Chapel was probably the place of meeting.[1] There were present five clergymen: the Rev. Samuel Provoost, rector of Trinity, with his two assistants, the Rev. Abraham Beach and the Rev. Benjamin Moore; the Rev. Joshua Bloomer from the united parishes of Jamaica, Newtown, and Flushing, and the Rev. John H. Rowland of Staten Island. There were also present eleven laymen: James Duane, Marinus Willet, and John Alsop from Trinity; Charles Crommeline, Daniel Kissam, Joseph Burrows, and John Johnson from Long Island; Paul Micheau from Staten Island; Andrew Fowler from New Rochelle; Joseph Jarvis representing the churches in Ulster and Orange; and John Davis representing those in Duchess. The convention did nothing but elect deputies to the General Convention in Philadelphia. Curiously enough, in the meager printed record of the proceedings of the New-York Convention, the informal conference held in the pre-

[1] This is highly probable, but not altogether certain. The two sessions of the Convention of 1786 were undoubtedly held in St. Paul's; but the letter to Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, adduced by Dr. De Costa as conclusive proof that the Convention of 1785 was also held there, obviously refers not to the first convention, but to the first session of the Convention of 1786. (Centennial History of the Diocese, pp. 67, 68.)

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vious October is spoken of as the General Convention, the name not having acquired its present definite meaning, and being used in a loose way to indicate that the conference was made up of representatives from the church at large.

The second Diocesan Convention was held in St. Paul's Chapel, in May, 1786, when a report of the proceedings of the General Convention was made, and a copy of the proposed Book of Common Prayer was laid before the house. After a session of two days the convention adjourned, to meet again in June. At this adjourned session, "out of respect to the English bishops, and because the minds of the people are not yet sufficiently informed," the consideration of the proposed Prayer-book was deferred to some future day.[1]

Then came the formal selection of the Rev. Samuel Provoost as first bishop of New-York. There is no mention of any ballot being taken, and there probably was none.[2]

Samuel Provoost, first bishop of New-York, was of Huguenot descent, his father being a wealthy merchant of New-York. After being graduated at King's (now Columbia) College, young Provoost went to Cambridge University, England, and while abroad was ordained. Returning to America in 1766, he was elected as assistant at Trinity, which position he resigned a few years afterward, finding that his political views were not in accord with those of his associates and the majority of the parish. Purchasing a country place in what is now Columbia County, he lived there in retirement, busy with literary and scientific pursuits, till the end of the war, when he came back to the city, and was elected rector of Trinity in 1784, in place of the Rev. Charles Inglis, who had been included in the Act of Attainder, and compelled to go into exile in 1783.[3]

The Convention of 1786 closed its labors by instructing its deputies to the General Convention "not to consent to any act that may imply the validity of Dr. Seabury's ordinations." Such an extraordinary action calls for some explanation. Bishop Seabury had been consecrated at Aberdeen on November 14, 1784, by three Scottish bishops, and had returned to Connecticut in June, 1785, about the time of the first New-York Convention. Unfortunately, the active part he had played during the war had made him very obnoxious to many of his countrymen, who could neither forgive nor forget the fact that he had been a British partizan, and was still drawing half pay as a retired chaplain of the British army. Both facts were very bitter to the bishop-elect of New-York. He made no secret of his

1 "Reprint of Journals," p. 9.

2 The record reads, "In compliance with the directions of the General Convention, Resolved — That the Reverend Samuel Provoost be recommended for Episcopal consecration."

3 The Rev. Benjamin Moore had been elected to succeed Mr. Inglis; but a change in the vestry and the excited political feeling prevented him from entering upon the office, and Mr. Provoost was elected in the following year.

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implacable hostility to Bishop Seabury, whom for years he refused to recognize, leaving his letters unanswered, and denouncing his consecration as irregular, if not absolutely null and void. In a letter written in November, 1785, he speaks with no little resentment of "the intrigues of the non-juring Bishop of Connecticut," and says, "Dr. Cebra" has been preaching at Hempstead, and ordaining there a candidate from Virginia.

The instructions to New-York's deputies originated unquestionably with Mr. Provoost, and were passed probably by the aid of the laity, as we know that most of the clergy sympathized fully with the Bishop of Connecticut. An attempt to pass a similar resolution in the General Convention was shelved by Bishop White. It was not, however, till 1787 that Bishop Seabury took his place in the General Convention, and it was 1792 before he and Bishop Provoost were brought together, just before the consecration of Bishop Claggett, when Bishop Seabury consented "to pay, and Bishop Provoost to receive, the visit which etiquette enjoined upon the former to the latter."[1] The difficulties in the way of the consecration of American bishops by bishops of the Church of England having been at last removed, Dr. White and Dr. Provoost sailed for England, and were consecrated in Lambeth Chapel, February 4, 1787. The next day they turned their faces homeward, and entered New-York harbor Easter Day, 1787.[2] Thus, at last, the church in New-York, ninety years after the incorporation of Trinity parish, was duly organized, and prepared to take up its work as a living branch of the Catholic Church.

The first results of Episcopal supervision were very encouraging. The early confirmations in America were very large, almost incredible to us, even though we remember that up to that time there had been no opportunity for members of the church to receive the rite. At Trinity the first class numbered over three hundred, and was composed of both young and old. On July 15, 1787, in St. George's Chapel, Bishop Provoost ordained two deacons, "the first apostolic ordination to the sacred ministry in the city of New-York,"[3] the ordination at Hempstead, in 1785, by Bishop Seabury, being the first within the State. At the convention in November, 1787, Bishop Provoost reported that he "had made a visitation of several churches on Long Island for the purpose of confirmation." In 1791 fourteen clergy were on the roll of the diocese, and in 1793 the bishop reported the consecration of two churches, one at Duanesburg, the other at Ballston. At the latter place he "had confirmed upward of two hundred, and administered the communion to above ninety persons."[4]

[1] Bishop White's "Memoirs," p. 162.

[2] McConnell says: "While the bells of Trinity were calling the people to church." These must have been the bells of Trinity's chapels, for Trinity Church itself was still in ruins, not being rebuilt until 1788.

[3] Centennial History of Diocese, p. 76.

[4] Reprint of Journals, pp. 67 and 68.

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Soon, however, the clouds settled down again, darker than ever. The church, in many quarters, was regarded as "a piece of heavy baggage, which the British had left behind,"[1] and there were very few who believed that she had a work to do in this land. Outsiders regarded her as dying, if not already dead, and the prediction was often made that she would not, and could not, survive that generation. The continued disputes with the old country had revived the feeling of hostility to England, and made it, if anything, deeper and bitterer than before. Bishop Provoost was hardly the man to meet and overcome such difficulties. While his well-known and ardent patriotism had helped to disarm some and win back others who had been estranged from the church by the political attitude of her leading clergy and laity, still he had neither the taste nor the training for the office and work of a bishop. He was a scholar rather than an ecclesiastic, fonder of natural science and literature than of doctrinal questions and details of administration. In the alterations to the Prayer-book and in drafting the constitution of the church he had shown little interest, and was not even present at the important General Convention of 1789. Not a man of sanguine temperament, he regarded the future of the church as hopeless, and expressed his conviction that she could not survive another generation, but would die out with the old colonial families.[2] The death of his wife led him to resign in 1800 his position as rector of Trinity, and in 1801 his office as bishop.

No diocesan convention had been held for over three years. A special convention was called in 1801, which accepted Bishop Provoost's resignation, and elected unanimously as bishop the Rev. Benjamin Moore, D. D., rector of Trinity Church. The second bishop of New-York was a native of Long Island and graduate of King's College. He was a man of singular gentleness, meekness, simplicity, and courtesy, unwearied in pastoral work in Trinity, where his popularity was unbounded, and where, in thirty-five years, he had solemnized 3578 marriages, and baptized 3064 children and adults. During his episcopate he retained the rectorship of Trinity, having under his charge Trinity Church, rebuilt in 1788, with the three chapels, St. George's, St. Paul's, and St. John's, the last being finished in 1807. The growth of the church continued to be slow, the number of the clergy not increasing rapidly. In 1811 his physical infirmities compelled Bishop Moore to ask for an assistant, and the Rev. John Henry Hobart, D. D., assistant minister of Trinity, was elected assistant bishop of the diocese.

At this convention the names of twenty-six clergymen were on the roll, and delegates from thirty-three parishes were present. In New-York city, besides Trinity with its three chapels, there were eight other

[1] McConnell's History of the Episcopal Church, p. 217.
[2] Centennial History, pp. 151 and 163.

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parishes,—Christ Church, Grace, St. Mark's, St. Esprit, St. Stephen's, St. Michael's, St. James, and Zion; while, outside the city, we find at the north St. Peter's, Albany, and Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, and at the west Trinity, Utica. John Henry Hobart, the third bishop of New-York, was of Puritan descent, but born in Philadelphia, whither his parents had removed, and where they had joined Christ Church. Here, under the pastoral care of Bishop White, the boy grew to manhood, having been baptized, confirmed, and ordained deacon by him. In 1800 the young deacon was elected an assistant at Trinity, New-York, and continued to hold this position till, on the death of Bishop Moore, he became rector. The consecration of Dr. Hobart was secured with no little difficulty. Bishop Provoost was persuaded reluctantly to come out of his retirement, and to unite with Bishops White and Jarvis in consecrating Hobart as assistant bishop of New-York, and Griswold as bishop of Massachusetts.

Soon after Bishop Hobart's consecration a question arose which threatened for a time to cause some trouble. The resignation of his jurisdiction by Bishop Provoost had been accepted ten years before by his diocese; but the House of Bishops, in giving consent to the consecration of Bishop Moore, had declared that they should consider him only as assistant bishop during Bishop Provoost's life. Curiously enough, however, in the journal of the House of Bishops, Dr. Moore is referred to as bishop of New-York, and his formal letter of consecration recites the fact that he was duly consecrated bishop of New-York. As such he had been recognized by his diocese without any protest, from any quarter, till after the consecration of Bishop Hobart. The election of one so young, and yet so pronounced in his views, called out opposition in some quarters, and an attempt was made to use the action of the House of Bishops to embarrass and hamper the young bishop in his work. Bishop Provoost attempted to resume his jurisdiction, and sent to the Convention of 1812 a communication in which he claimed to be the lawful bishop of the diocese. This claim was respectfully but firmly refused by the convention by an overwhelming vote of both orders. Henceforth Bishop Hobart's authority was undisputed.

The hour and the man had now come. The church was almost at its lowest ebb. The older clergy were fast dying out, and few were coming forward to take their places. But soon a very great change took place. The young bishop brought to his work the qualities and the training which commanded success. He became at once the foremost churchman of his day, the first of the new race, destined to build in this land a church, one with the church of the early centuries in all essentials, and at the same time in touch with the life and thought of the day. Bishop Hobart's early training as secretary of

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the House of Bishops in 1799, secretary of General Convention in 1804 and 1808, and secretary of the diocese of New-York from 1801 to his election as bishop, had made him thoroughly familiar with the history of the diocese, and all the details of its administration. He was emphatically one of the epoch-makers in the history of the church. A man of strong and deep convictions, an enthusiastic believer in the divine origin of the church, and in the importance of her sacraments and threefold ministry, he had also the courage of his convictions. "My banner is evangelical truth and apostolical order," he wrote. His pen was rarely idle. Compelled to defend the church and her claims, he did it in such a way as to command the respect and win the admiration of friend and foe. His labors were unending. Rector of the largest church in his diocese, he soon showed the world that a bishop was something more than a mere machine to confirm and ordain, and he was soon recognized as the foremost missionary and the wisest leader of his day. To and fro across the length and breadth of his diocese he went, and pushed his labors as far as Detroit, where he laid the corner-stone of a church in 1817.

When told by his wife that he was undertaking too much, he answered, "How can I do too much for him who has done everything for me?" In advising a young clergyman, he said, "My young friend, take little thought about present consequences; set yourself upon principle, and trust God with the result."[1] He practised what he preached. Warned on his last visitation to mix some brandy with the water in the limestone district, where he was working, he refused. He was told that in his weak condition he would die if he did not do it. "Then I will die," was his answer. The end came at Auburn, not many days afterward, and the great bishop of New-York fell asleep September 10, 1830. He died, as he would have wished, in the harness. His episcopate had lasted only nineteen years, but marvelous had been the growth in that short time. The number of clergy had increased from 26 to 127, and the parishes represented in convention from 33 to 86.

At the convention held in the following October, the diocese took steps to lessen the labors of the future bishop by releasing him from the necessity of holding a parish. Up to this time every bishop of New-York had been also rector of Trinity. The convention then elected the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D., an assistant minister of Trinity, to the vacant bishopric. He proved himself no unworthy successor to his great predecessor. Four years afterward he advised the division of the diocese, which had grown too large for any one man to supervise, and after a long and acrimonious discussion it was consummated in 1838, and western New-York was set off as a sepa-

[1] Brand's "Life of Whittingham," Vol. I, p. 98.

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rate diocese. In 1832, in St. Paul's Chapel, an event took place which produced a profound impression at the time, and opened the eyes of many to the new life which was stirring in the church. This was the consecration of four bishops at once,—Bishop Hopkins of Vermont, Bishop Smith of Kentucky, Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio, and Bishop Doane of New Jersey. In the autumn of 1844, when Bishop Onderdonk was "at the zenith of his fame," he was accused of acts of immorality, brought to trial, condemned, and sentenced to suspension from the exercise of his ministry and his office as bishop. The story of those dark days is very sad. The condemned bishop never lost the love and confidence of his diocese. His clergy and laity stood by him with loyal hearts, and by a great many his prosecution was regarded as a persecution for his doctrinal views. Probably few can be found to-day to admit that he was guilty of anything worse than imprudence. He died, protesting with his last breath that he was innocent of the charges brought against him.

In 1852, after an interregnum of nearly eight years, the Rev. Dr. Wainwright was elected provisional bishop. He entered on the enormous work, increased greatly by the arrears accumulated, with intense zeal, and absolute devotion to the service of the Lord, but, unfortunately, with too little regard for his own advanced years and far from robust strength. Within less than two years he consecrated 15 churches, ordained 37 deacons and 12 priests, and confirmed 4127 persons, traveling throughout his great diocese. In the midst of his herculean labors he died as a soldier of the cross, "his feet on the field; his face to the foe; his armor on; his spear in rest; the crown of life falling 'mid fight upon his brow."

The convention lost no time in filling the vacancy, and chose the Rev. Horatio Potter, D. D., rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany, as provisional bishop. He was the first bishop of New-York who, at the time of his election, had not been connected with Trinity parish. On the death of Bishop Onderdonk in 1861, Bishop Potter became the fifth bishop of New-York. During his long and successful administration, party spirit ran high, and it needed a calm temper and a steady hand to steer the ship safely through the perils which encompassed her. He skilfully avoided forcing things to a crisis. Dark clouds gathered, but the sun broke through again, and the clouds rolled away. Steadily the church grew, till the time came for division again. Reluctantly the bishop gave his consent, and Albany and Long Island were set off in 1868. At that time there were 446 clergy on the roll. During his episcopate St. Stephen's College, Annandale, was founded, with the special object of preparing young men for the sacred ministry.

In 1883 Bishop Horatio Potter, who had now administered the

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affairs of the diocese for nearly thirty years, seven years as provisional bishop and twenty-two years as bishop, was compelled by his growing infirmities to ask for the election of an assistant, and the Rev. Henry C. Potter, D. D., rector of Grace Church, New-York, was elected assistant bishop, and consecrated October 20, 1883, and on the death of Bishop Horatio Potter in 1887 he became sixth bishop of New-York. The idea of a cathedral, a church which should worthily represent the moral and spiritual forces in our modern civilization, and bear comparison with the warehouses, public buildings, and palaces which represent its material progress, had been broached under Bishop Horatio Potter's administration, but hardly began to crystallize till the time of his successor. On St. John's Day, December 27, 1892, the cornerstone of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine[1] was laid in the presence of a vast and representative gathering of clergy and laity.

Henry C. Potter

Looking back over the record of these hundred years, the first thought is how marvelous has been the growth of the despised church of those early days of our country's independence. Contrast that little gathering of faithful men in St. Paul's Chapel in 1786, who came together with fear and trembling to elect the first bishop of New-York, with the figures as given to-day. In 1892 there were in the State of New-York five dioceses, presided over by five bishops, and containing 708 parishes, 824 clergy, and 120,566 communicants. In 1835, fifty years after the first convention and three years before the first division of the State into two dioceses, there were 214 parishes, 194 clergy, and 9738 communicants. Since 1835 the number of parishes has increased 230 per cent., the clergy 325 per cent., and the communicants 1140 per cent. The number confirmed in the last year exceeded the whole number of communicants in the State in 1835.

During this time the population in the State has grown immensely, and instead of a population of about two millions we have nearly six millions, an increase of about two hundred per cent. In other words, the increase in the strength of the church, as shown by the number of her communicants, has been nearly six times that of the population, notwithstanding the steady stream of immigration composed to a very large extent of elements having little affinity to this church. While this material growth has been confined to no one locality, it has been

[1] See illustration of the Cathedral, Vol. III, p. 563.

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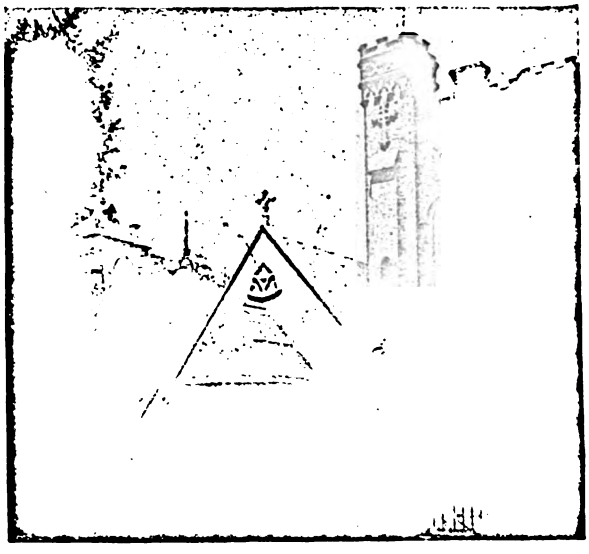
so marked of late years in the city of New-York as to excite repeated comment in both secular and religious papers, and provoke many questions as to its cause. The following figures will show the growth for the last two decades in the diocese of New-York:

	1870	1880	1890
Clergy	293	309	357
Churches	182	199	206
Baptisms	3,659	5,399	7,223
Confirmed	2,525	2,968	4,380
Marriages	1,117	1,483	2,296
Burials	2,054	2,613	3,622
Sunday-school Scholars and Teachers	20,134	36,567	41,013
Communicants	19,829	35,637	51,655

The figures for 1892 show that this phenomenal growth is, if anything, increasing, and the returns give now 56,015 communicants. About two thirds of the strength of the diocese is in the city, and the convention reports show that in the city proper the increase in communicants has been as follows: 1870, 11,953; 1880, 26,719; 1890, 35,720. There are now ninety-four churches and chapels in the city, and divine service is said every Sunday in nine different languages.



CHURCH OF THE TRANSFIGURATION.

Great as has been the material progress, as shown by such figures, the change in other respects is even more marked. The services of the church have been enriched, and her worship made more what it should be, while at the same time services have been multiplied, so as to meet the needs of a great city like this, and to minister to the moral and spiritual necessities of so heterogeneous a population. Few realize how great has been the change in both these respects. We have read of the old days when the clerk monopolized the responses, the surplice was seldom seen, the altar was hidden behind the pulpit and reading-desk, the canticles were never chanted, and few and far between were those who knelt in the house of prayer. But we need not go back to those days. In 1863 colored cloths to mark the sea-

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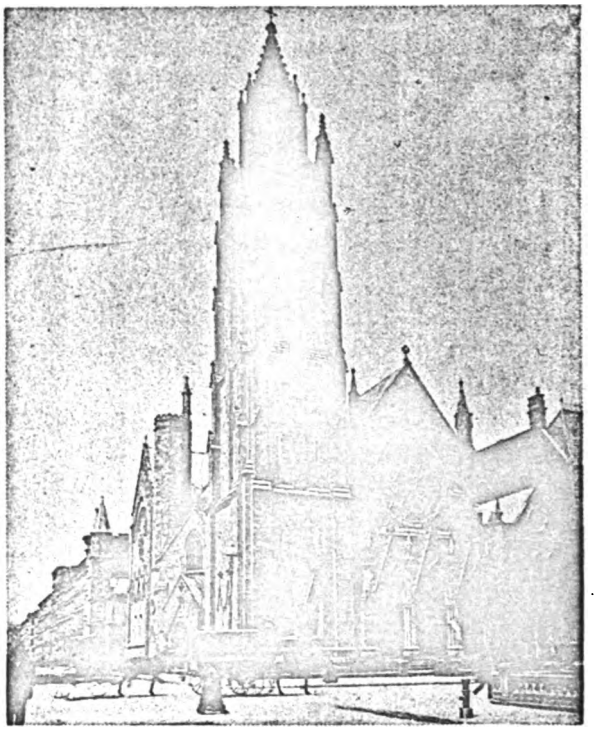
sons were unknown; Trinity Church had the only vested choir; Holy Innocents', St. Mary's (Manhattanville), and Holy Communion were the only churches which had a weekly communion.[1] Now, the surplice in the pulpit, the vested choir, and the weekly celebration are the rule in the parishes of New-York city, and have entirely lost any party significance.

This enrichment and multiplication of services have been caused mainly by the desire to reach and minister to those for whom Christ died. The church has been growing more in touch with the life and thought of the day, more prepared to take up the problems of modern civilization and city life, and to do her best to solve them in the spirit of her Lord. To do this she has had to multiply her agencies for relieving the material needs, the bodily pains and ills of poor suffering humanity. She has recognized, perhaps, as never before her mission to be the earthly representative of him who came to seek and to save those who are lost. Instead of waiting for them to come to her, she has gone out into the highways to bring back the wanderers, to strengthen the weak, and to lift up the fallen. Look over the published list of the organized charities of the Protestant Episcopal Church in our great city, and we get a still broader view of what the church really is doing for the world around her. Hospitals for the sick and crippled; homes for the convalescent and the incurable, the



ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH.

[1] In Trinity parish the rule was to have a monthly communion in each church, with special celebration on the great festivals of Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Whitsun-Day and Trinity Sunday. At Trinity Church, Epiphany and All Saints' were added to the list; and in St. Paul's, where Dr. Dix had charge, a great advance had been made, and there was a weekly celebration on the Thursdays in Advent and Lent. On the other hand at St. Paul's and St. John's there was no celebration on Ascension, the communion at Trinity being regarded as meeting the wants of the three down-town churches. Dr. Ewer's rule at the same time was, "The first Sunday of each month, Christmas, Maundy Thursday evening, Easter, Ascension, Whitsun-Day, and Trinity Sunday." It will be observed that on saints' days in all these churches no celebration was reported in the parochial reports to convention.

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orphan and the aged; nurseries to lift the burden from the shoulders of the weary mother; training-schools for boys and girls; shelters for respectable young women, and houses of mercy for the fallen,—these are the marks and notes that the church is loyal to him who went about doing good. Besides these, almost every large city parish has now its summer home by the sea-shore or up among the hills, to which the children from the tenement-houses can be sent for a week or ten days' sojourn in the fresh bracing air.

Side by side with this multiplication of organized agencies and institutions for the relief of souls and bodies, there has been also a vast increase in the working force. We have begun to realize the economy of giving the hard-worked rector of a large parish two or three assistants, to divide up the work, and to be hands and feet to the busy brain which plans and oversees all. Still, the supply fails to meet the demand, and now, as never before, the laity are waking up to realize their priesthood, and to count it a privilege to take some part in this work. There is an ever-growing number of both men and women who give some part of the day or week to special parish work, while in addition eager volunteers are coming forward as members of brotherhoods and sisterhoods, as deaconesses and trained nurses, to consecrate their lives to the cause of humanity and the service of Christ.

Such is the change wrought by a single century. The poor, weak, despised church, which a hundred years ago was regarded by almost all as a dead, effete relic of the past, has shown by her works that she is a living branch of Christ's Church, loyal to her Lord, and all on fire with a passionate love for winning souls to him. What lies before her we know not, but the past encourages us to hope and to believe that he who has led and strengthened her in the dark days which are past will continue to guide and bless her in the years to come, and to make her more and more a fit instrument for his work.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN NEW-YORK

THE Northmen of the tenth and subsequent centuries, then recently converted to Christianity, planted Vinland in New England, and claim to have visited Hvitrammana-land, or Great Ireland, in the South; they may have been the first Catholics to visit Manhattan. In 1525 the Catholic navigators Verazzano and Gomez visited the beautiful bay and shores, then the undisputed heritage of the Indians. A century passes without a Catholic record. In 1626 there were two Catholic soldiers at Fort Orange. The first Catholic priest who entered the

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city was the Jesuit Father Isaac Jogues, rescued from Iroquois captivity, to whom New Amsterdam gave a passage to France, in 1643, when he found in the city only two Catholics,—a Portuguese woman, and a transient Irishman from Maryland,—whose confessions he heard. In the following year, the Jesuit Father Francis Joseph Bressani, ransomed by the Dutch from the Iroquois and by them supplied with passage for Europe, passed through the city, finding no Catholics. Fathers Le Moyne and Vaillant, from Canada, afterward visited New-York, and administered the sacraments to several Catholic sailors.

When Charles II. granted New-York and New Jersey to James, the Catholic Duke of York, which ended the Dutch rule in Manhattan, the door was open to English immigration, and the coast, from Connecticut to the Potomac, was under the government of Catholic rulers. It was short-lived. Under the administration of Governor Andros, in 1674, the lieutenant-governor, Anthony Brockholls, and Lieutenant Jervis Baxter, both Catholics, rendered loyal services to the government. But in 1683 a Catholic governor, Colonel Thomas Dongan, succeeded Andros as governor. He was accompanied by an English Jesuit Father, Thomas Harvey. They were afterward joined by Fathers Henry Harrison and Charles Gage, and two lay brothers. A Catholic chapel in Fort James, just south of Bowling Green, and a Latin school on the King's Farm, near or on the site of Trinity Church, were established. Governor Dongan convened the popular assembly, established freedom of conscience, and his administration is recognized as eminently successful and beneficial. In 1685 the Duke of York succeeded to the throne as James II. The Catholic flock increased under the favorable administrations of King James and Governor Dongan. In July, 1688, King James essayed the union of all the British-American provinces under one head, and appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor-general; and by the king's orders Dongan turned over New-York and New Jersey to him. But the revolution of 1688, which overthrew King James and placed William and Mary on the throne, found a corresponding response in New-York under Leisler, a citizen of good connections previously, who now became an anti-popery leader, and under the guise of an election by a committee of safety, usurped the government, and afterward paid the penalty of his rashness by being executed for treason. Dongan had to fly for his life, the Jesuit Fathers Harvey and Harrison barely escaped the pursuit of Leisler and his associates, and though a priest remained at the fort with Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson, it was not long before that officer and the Jesuit fled. Father Harvey, who had escaped on foot to Maryland, returned to New-York with another Jesuit, and, in constant peril, ministered to his little flock for a few years. By 1690 the New-York mission was utterly destroyed.

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In 1696, under Governor Fletcher, the number of Catholics in the city was only nine. Penal laws against them in New-York were enacted in 1700. In 1741 a panic seized the people, kindled by reports of a negro plot to burn the city. The origin of this agitation was an accidental fire in the fort, but the plot was unfortunately attributed to the Spanish negroes. Rev. John Ury was accused of being the leader of the plot, and although he was a dissenting minister from England and wholly inoffensive, the public fears led to his accusation as a Catholic priest. This gave an anti-Catholic turn to the affair. Though there was no evidence to convict him, he was condemned and hanged. Among the victims of this mad excitement, after a hasty trial, were four white persons hanged, eleven negroes burned at the stake, eighteen negroes hanged, and fifty negroes transported and sold. Several of the negroes died with crucifixes in their hands, probably Catholic sailors from the West Indies. For more than three quarters of a century after the flight of Governor Dongan and the Jesuits, the few Catholics remaining were without a place of worship, living in fear of penal prosecutions. After Canada was ceded to England, the Acadian exile took place, in 1755. The Acadians landed in New-York from British ships, were scattered, and scarcely a trace of them could be found after thirty years.

Catholics in New-York were excluded from office by the following oath, required of all persons appointed to office: "I do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testifie, and declare, that I do not believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is any Transubstantiation of the elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous." And the first flag raised in New-York by the Sons of Liberty was inscribed "No Popery."[1] Just prior to the American Revolution, there was a little Catholic congregation worshiping in the house of a devout German in Wall street, and the Jesuit Father Ferdinand Steinmeyer visited and ministered to them on his trips from Maryland. To avoid arrest he assumed the name of Farmer, and entered the city in disguise. The little church was burned in the conflagration following Washington's retreat, and the congregation was broken up. The first priest to celebrate mass in New-York after the British occupation was the Abbé de la Motte, an Augustinian, who was chaplain of a French ship taken at sea by the British cruisers, and brought for condemnation to New-York. Requested by the French officers and crew and by the few Catholics in New-York to say mass, the Abbé de la Motte was confronted

[1] Goulding's "Catholic Churches of New-York," edited by Dr. John G. Shea, pp. 27, 28.

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by the law forbidding it; when he applied to the British commander for permission, it was refused. But the chaplain, through ignorance of English, mistook the refusal for permission, said mass, and for this was arrested and kept a close prisoner in the Old Dutch Church in Nassau street, or in the old Provost Prison, now the Hall of Records, until exchanged in 1799.

Although New-York's convention in 1777, participating in the popular resentment at the passage of the Quebec Act, by which Great Britain upheld the Catholic faith in Canada, enacted a naturalization law which virtually excluded Catholics from citizenship, religious toleration gained rapidly on public opinion, and Catholics began to feel free in the public practice of their religion. Thus, after the evacuation of the city by the British, Father Farmer came boldly to New-York to look after the remnants of his little flock, and in 1784 the number of communicants was eighteen. After our independence was achieved, Pope Pius VI. appointed Rev. John Carroll, of Maryland, Prefect Apostolic of the church in the United States. Toward the close of that year the Catholics of New-York invited Rev. Charles Whelan, an Irish Capuchin, to their city, and Dr. Carroll granted him authority to officiate. In addition to this congregation, which attended mass in hired halls, New-York being then the capital of the United States, mass was celebrated at the embassies of the French and Spanish legations by their chaplains. By March, 1785, the chapel of the French embassy was fully equipped, and afforded religious services for many New-York Catholics. The law of 1700, in relation to "Papish Priests and Jesuits," was repealed by an act of the New-York legislature in 1784, but the naturalization oath, though annulled in 1801, was required of them until 1806, when, on the petition of a numerous body of the Catholics of the city, gotten up by the trustees of St. Peter's Church, it was finally abrogated.

The congregation of New-York Catholics worshiped in a carpenter shop in Barclay street, fitted up for temporary use, and there were three priests in the city—Fathers Whelan, Nugent, and La Valinière, the last being especially in charge of the French and Canadian Catholics. Dissensions between Fathers Whelan and Nugent and their respective adherents led to the withdrawal of both from the city, which then had only Father La Valinière. The little congregation in the carpenter shop, in the mean time, had undertaken the erection of a permanent church; the lots at the corner of Barclay and Church streets were purchased, and the corner-stone was laid on October 5, 1785, in the presence of a large assembly. Dr. Carroll received from Rome special faculties, not usually given to any bishops, to consecrate the new St. Peter's. The dedication took place November 4, 1786, the feast of St. Charles Borromeo, in honor of Charles IV., King of Spain,

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who was said to have presented $10,000 for its erection. Other prominent benefactors of St. Peter's were the French Consul de Crèvecœur, the Spanish Consul Stoughton, Dominick Lynch, and others. The trustees of St. Peter's were incorporated in 1785, and reincorporated in 1787. In 1787 Rev. William O'Brien, a Dominican, became pastor by appointment of Dr. Carroll, and faithfully served for several years.

The first American Catholic bishop, Right Rev. John Carroll, was consecrated in England, on August 15, 1790, as Bishop of Baltimore, having episcopal jurisdiction over the whole United States. New-York city became an episcopal see of a new diocese by bulls of Pope Pius VII., dated April 8, 1808, and his jurisdiction extended over the whole State of New-York and the eastern part of New Jersey. The Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, a distinguished Dominican of Rome, was appointed by the pope first bishop of New-York, was consecrated at Rome on April 24, 1808, but failing to reach his see after repeated efforts, owing to the military condition of the country, died at Naples on June 19, 1810. Mrs. Elizabeth Seton, a distinguished convert, made her first communion at St. Peter's on March 25, 1805; she afterward became the foundress of the Sisters of Charity in America. On Christmas eve, 1806, a number of rioters, whom the "Evening Post" of December 26, 1806, calls Highbinders, attempted violence about St. Peter's Church, and the next day made an assault upon the Irish settlement in Augustus street, now City Hall Place. The disturbance was quelled under a proclamation of Mayor Clinton. Rev. Anthony Kohlmann, a Jesuit, was appointed by Archbishop Carroll, under a general authority received from Bishop Concanen, vicar-general and administrator of the diocese of New-York, though the latter took steps, perhaps afterward, for the appointment of Rev. Ambrose Maréchal as vicar-general. Fathers Kohlmann and Fenwick, both Jesuits, officiated at St. Peter's. From that church they visited, at his request, Thomas Paine, the well-known infidel writer. Such was the increase of the Catholics of New-York, that in 1809 another church became necessary, and Fathers Kohlmann and Fenwick took an active part in the work; the corner-stone of the new church, situated on Mott and Mulberry streets, was laid on June 8 of that year, and, at the suggestion of Archbishop Carroll, it was called St. Patrick's. It was consecrated on Ascension day, 1815. St. Peter's and St. Patrick's

E. B. Seton

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properties were vested in the trustees of St. Peter's until 1817, when the two congregations were separately incorporated. Fathers Kohlmann and Fenwick founded the first Catholic school, the New-York Literary Institute, situated at the intersection of Fifth Avenue and Fiftieth street, on a part of the site of the new cathedral. They also officiated at St. Patrick's until 1817, when they were recalled to Maryland by their provincial. In 1813 an important decision was made by Mayor Clinton, in a criminal case, by which Catholic priests were protected from revealing the secrets of the confessional in court. The principles of this decision were afterward incorporated in the Revised Statutes of the State.[1]

John Connolly

In 1814 Pius VII. appointed as Bishop of New-York the Rev. John Connolly, who was prior of St. Clement's Dominican Convent at Rome. He was consecrated at Rome on November 6, 1814, arrived at New-York on the 24th, and, without formal installation, entered on the administration of his see. The Catholic population of the State and city was then between fifteen and twenty thousand, and there were only four priests in the city, two of whom, the Jesuit Fathers, were soon withdrawn, and with their departure the Literary Institute was discontinued. The monks of La Trappe and the Ursuline nuns made temporary sojourns in the city, but they too now soon departed. Bishop Cheverus, of Boston, had performed episcopal offices for the Catholics of the city during the interregnum. Such were the necessities and poverty of the church of New-York, that its bishop was compelled to perform the duties of a missionary priest, and officiated alternately at St. Patrick's and St. Peter's. St. Patrick's, in Mott street, was his cathedral. The bishop modestly resided at first at 211 Bowery, then in Broome street, nearly opposite the house of reception of the New-York Catholic Protectory, and lastly at 512 Broadway, where he died. In 1822 the city had only three priests besides the bishop; St. Patrick's Cathedral was served by Bishop Connolly and Rev. Michael O'Gorman, and at St. Peter's were Rev. Charles Ffrench and Rev. John Power. During the episcopate of Dr. Connolly, he ordained as priests Rev. Michael O'Gorman, 1815; Rev. Richard Bulger, 1820; Rev. Patrick

[1] Sampson's "Catholic Question in America," 1813, *passim*.

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Kelly, 1820; Rev. Charles Brennan, 1822; Rev. John Shanahan, 1823; Rev. John Conroy, 1825. While three of these were laboring in the city, the rest were on the missions of the State. Bishop Connolly introduced into New-York the Sisters of Charity from Mrs. Seton's Mother House at Emmettsburg, and they took charge of the orphan-asylum, incorporated in 1817 as the New-York Benevolent Society, in Prince street, where the permanent building was erected in 1825, the west wing in 1833, and the east wing in 1834. When the yellow fever visited the city, the bishop and his priests were heroic in their ministrations to the sick and dying. Bishop Connolly and the Protestant Episcopal Bishop Hobart, of New-York, enjoyed the friendship of each other. The latter was so liberal toward Catholics that many supposed he had a leaning toward Catholicity. He died, however, an Episcopal bishop; but his daughter, Rebecca Hobart, wife of Dr. Levi Silliman Ives, who, while the Episcopal bishop of North Carolina, became a Catholic, joined her husband long afterward in being united to the Catholic Church. She died in New-York, and her remains rest beside those of her distinguished husband in the grounds of the Catholic Protectory, of which he was the founder.

During the episcopal administration of Dr. Connolly a series of conversions of eminent Protestants began, which continued into the times of his successors. In 1816 Rev. John Kewley, rector of the Episcopal Church of St. George, became a Catholic; he is thought to have spent the remainder of his life in a religious house in Belgium, where Bishop Hobart, who carried on his visit to Europe letters of introduction from Bishop Connolly, visited him. In 1840 Rev. Maximilian Oertel, a Lutheran minister, was received into the Catholic Church by Rev. William Quarter of St. Mary's. In 1842 Rev. James Roosevelt Bayley, rector of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church at Harlem, became a Catholic, was appointed secretary and chancellor of Archbishop Hughes, and afterward Bishop of Newark, N. J.; he died while filling the office of Archbishop of Baltimore. In 1849 Rev. Thomas S. Preston, assistant minister at St. Luke's Episcopal Church, became a Catholic, was afterward pastor of St. Ann's Catholic Church, chancellor and vicar-general under Cardinal McCloskey and Archbishop Corrigan, and received the honors of the purple as a monsignor. In 1851 Rev. F. G. White, of the Episcopal Church, became a Catholic, as also did Rev. William Everett, of the Episcopal Church, now pastor of the Catholic Church of the Nativity; Rev. Donald McLeod was converted in the same year, and Rev. John Holmes in 1852. Bishop Connolly's advanced years and declining health caused him to ask Rome for the appointment of Rev. Michael O'Gorman as coadjutor, but the latter died at the bishop's residence before the appointment could be considered. In 1822 the Propaganda at Rome had proposed

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Bishop Kelly, of Richmond, as coadjutor bishop of New-York, but this was prevented by the opposition of Bishop Connolly. The bishop took a severe cold while attending Father O'Gorman's funeral, but continued his missionary labors; he was prostrated at another funeral in January, 1825, and died on February 6 following. During the vacancy of the see of New-York, Rev. Dr. John Power, whom the late bishop had appointed his vicar-general, became administrator of the diocese. Father Bulger died in 1824.

In 1826 Rev. John Du Bois, founder of Mount St. Mary's College, Emmettsburg, Maryland, and a leading adviser of Mother Seton in founding the Sisters of Charity, was appointed third Bishop of New-York. He was one of the *émigré* clergy driven from France by the revolution of 1791. He was consecrated at the cathedral in Baltimore, by Archbishop Maréchal, on October 29, 1826, and was installed at St. Patrick's Cathedral, New-York, on November 9, in presence of the clergy and four thousand Catholic laymen. New-York city then possessed a Catholic population of twenty-five thousand, as estimated by Bishop Du Bois,—it was much nearer thirty thousand,—with three churches and six priests. New-York had two Catholic free schools, which were supported in part by municipal aid. Christ Episcopal Church in Ann street was purchased in March, 1827, by Rev. Dr. Felix Varela, with the aid of Spanish merchants and others, and was solemnly dedicated as a Catholic church on July 15. Bishop Du Bois devoted himself with untiring labor to the work of promoting religion, education, and charity. Like his predecessor, he had to struggle with lay-trusteeism in the churches, as well as personal opposition. Yet the merits and services of both prelates were cordially acknowledged by the vast majority of the Catholic people, who were devout and well disposed. During Bishop Du Bois's visit to Europe, in 1828, Dr. Varela governed the diocese as vicar-general. While encouraging the erection of new churches in the State, and struggling to provide pastors for them as well as for the city, Bishop Du Bois conceived the plan of erecting a diocesan seminary. At this period the whole annual revenue of the Bishop of New-York was $1200, with which he supported himself and his two assistants, paid house-rent, and the entire expenses of his visitations throughout his vast diocese. While the wealthy Catholics of the city insisted upon the lay-trustee system as a condition to their building new churches, the bishop was wholly opposed to that system. This accounts for the slow increase of churches and priests. Having failed to obtain the services of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, more Sisters of Charity were procured from Emmettsburg, a female academy was started at 261 Mulberry street, and soon another at St. Peter's. In 1831 St. Mary's Church, in Sheriff street, was burned by incendiaries, who first robbed the sanctuary, and in

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the conflagration the only Catholic church bell in the city perished. The present St. Mary's Church stands at Grand and Ridge streets, where Bishop Du Bois laid the corner-stone on April 30, 1832, and dedicated the church on June 9, 1833. The church has undergone renovation and re-dedication, and has had amongst its pastors Rev. William Quarter, who afterward became Bishop of Chicago, and Father Starrs, once vicar-general under Archbishops Hughes and McCloskey. During the visitation of the cholera in 1832, Bishop Du Bois and his clergy were untiring in their services, and on its departure a Te Deum was solemnly sung in all the Catholic churches. In 1832 a farm was purchased near Nyack, and an ecclesiastical seminary founded and put in operation with professors and students, but a disastrous fire swept away the infant establishment, with great loss to the diocese. In 1831 another church, St. Joseph's, was erected in Sixth Avenue and Grove street, in the outlying village of Greenwich (the present St. Joseph's stands at Sixth Avenue and Washington Place). In 1833 the first Catholic newspaper was established in the city, "The New-York Weekly Register and Catholic Diary": it was afterward combined with the "Freeman's Journal," in 1840. In 1834 a conflict arose between the trustees of the cathedral, led by the Rev. Thomas C. Levins, and Bishop Du Bois; the latter firmly maintained his episcopal authority. For some few years there had been a German Catholic congregation, with Rev. John Raffeiner as pastor, who worshiped in hired quarters under the invocation of Holy Trinity. In 1834 they built their own Church of St. Nicholas in Second Avenue; it was dedicated in 1836. Christ Church, in Ann street, in 1836 became the Transfiguration in Chambers street, while another part of the congregation erected St. James Church, with Rev. Andrew Byrne as pastor, who afterward became Bishop of Little Rock, Arkansas. In 1835 St. Paul's at Harlem was erected, with Rev. Michael Curran as pastor. In 1836 the "Awful Disclosures" of Maria Monk, at once a dupe and impostor, were published in New-York, and led to an outbreak of anti-Catholic sentiment, until the imposture was exposed. In 1837 Rev. John Hughes became coadjutor bishop of New-York, in consequence of Dr. Du Bois's advanced years and weak health. Bishop Hughes was consecrated in the cathedral by Bishop Du Bois on January 7. In 1839 lay-trusteeism at the cathedral came in conflict with the strong will and executive ability of Dr. Hughes, and the system fell prostrate under his stroke. The administration of the diocese, in consequence of the fast-declining health of Bishop Du Bois, was confided to his hands, which he

+ John Bp of N.Y.

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held until December 15, 1842, when, upon the death of the aged prelate, he became Bishop of New-York in his own right.

Some of the earliest important events of Dr. Hughes's administration were the commencement in 1839 of St. Joseph's Seminary, at Rose Hill Farm, and of St. John's College, which was opened in 1841; his championship of the Catholic school question in 1840-41; the organization of the Church Debt Association and the introduction of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart in 1841; the holding of a diocesan synod in 1842, which was attended by fifty-four priests of the diocese, and whereat diocesan statutes were announced by the bishop; the appointment of Right Rev. John McCloskey as coadjutor in 1844; the erection of several new churches, and the introduction of the Fathers of Mercy. In 1844 Bishop Hughes, by his consummate address and undaunted courage, averted the repetition in New-York of the church-burning scenes and disasters which had been enacted in Philadelphia by the Know-nothings. In 1846 the Sisters of Mercy were introduced, also the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, and the Sisters of Charity of New-York were organized as a separate community. Mount St. Vincent's convent and academy were founded on the site now embraced in Central Park, and since then removed to the new St. Vincent's on the Hudson. The Redemptorists having come to New-York in 1842, and settled in Second street, where St. Nicholas's Church was built, they also erected in Third street, between Avenues A and B, the convent, school, and temporary Church of the Most Holy Redeemer. The Church of St. Nicholas was rebuilt in 1848, and that of the Most Holy Redeemer in 1853. The Sisters of Mercy placed their institute in Broome and Mulberry streets, and subsequently in Madison Avenue, near Eighty-first street. Up to March 1, 1853 (seven years), the Sisters of Mercy had placed in respectable situations seven thousand three hundred and sixty-five poor girls; and at that rate the number must amount to fifty thousand in 1893. In 1848 the Brothers of the Christian Schools arrived in New-York, and now they have charge of over fifty parochial schools with sixteen thousand pupils, besides Manhattan College and several institutes. In 1850 were erected the Jesuit College of St. Francis Xavier and the church connected therewith, an establishment not surpassed in New-York.

On October 3, 1850, by brief of Pius IX., the diocese of New-York was subdivided and erected into an archiepiscopal see, with the dioceses of Boston, Hartford, Albany, and Buffalo as suffragans; and Dr. Hughes, now an archbishop, proceeded in November to Rome, where he received the pallium, emblem of archiepiscopal authority, from the hands of the pope. New churches had been erected during the last several years, and in 1853 there were in the city twenty-four

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churches and three chapels, sixty priests, four literary institutions for young men and five for young women, St. Vincent's Hospital, three orphan-asylums, and a Catholic population of two hundred thousand. Archbishop Bayley wrote that "the two hundred Catholics of 1785 were better provided for than the two hundred thousand who in 1853 dwelt within the boundaries of the city of New-York." St. Joseph's Seminary and St. John's College at Fordham had been turned over to the Jesuits, and in 1891, the fiftieth anniversary of St. John's College, a statue of its illustrious founder was erected at the college. Churches and institutions greatly multiplied during the remainder of Archbishop Hughes's administration. The reception of Archbishop Bedini, the papal ablegate, in 1853, Dr. Hughes's visit to Rome in 1854, a masterly report of the condition of his archdiocese made to the pope in 1858, the laying of the corner-stone of the new St. Patrick's Cathedral on August 15, 1858, in the presence of seven bishops, one hundred and thirty priests, and one hundred thousand people, and the erection of the massive foundations of the new cathedral to a height of twelve or fourteen feet, were some of the later events of his administration. New-York city in 1863 possessed thirty-one churches, twelve chapels, and nearly ninety priests. Worthy of mention is a bitter controversy in 1842 between Archbishop Hughes and Erastus Brooks of the New-York "Express," resulting in the publication of a book by the former in 1855, entitled "Brooksiana," and of a reply by Mr. Brooks; also the controversy between the archbishop and Nicholas Murray, who took the name of Kirwan, and whom Dr. Hughes answered in a work entitled "Kirwan Unmasked." Another important event was the founding in 1862–3 of the New-York Catholic Protectory, which during thirty years of existence has cared for nearly thirty thousand poor, under the successive administrations of Levi S. Ives, LL. D., Henry J. Anderson, LL. D., Henry L. Hoguet, and Richard H. Clarke, LL. D., and now not surpassed by any similar institution in the world. The Sisters of the Good Shepherd for the reform of penitent women were introduced in New-York under Dr. Hughes, and they founded a convent and Magdalen House. Converts to the Catholic Church in New-York were Rev. Isaac T. Hecker, Rev. A. F. Hewit, Rev. Clarence Walworth (son of Chancellor Walworth), and Rev. Edgar P. Wadhams. The organization of the first American order of priests, by Fathers Hecker, Hewit, Baker, Deshon, and Walworth, "the missionary priests of St. Paul the Apostle," occurred in 1858–9; they erected a church and convent in Fifty-ninth street, near Ninth Avenue, in 1859. The massive church of St. Paul was afterward erected on the Ninth Avenue front. The Paulist Fathers now number nearly twenty-five members, and are engaged in preaching missions throughout the country. In 1863 the New-York

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Catholic Church Incorporation Act was passed by the legislature, under which Catholic churches can be incorporated with the archbishop, vicar-general, pastor, and two laymen as trustees. In 1861 the patriot prelate of New-York was appointed by the United States Government a special envoy to the governments of France and England on a mission of peace. His visit to Europe was at about the same time that Mason and Slidell visited Europe in behalf of the Southern Confederacy. In 1863 he was appealed to by the governor of the State to use his influence for quelling the anti-draft riot then prevailing in the city; and though in feeble health, he issued a call for the disaffected to assemble at his residence, when he addressed them from a balcony for the preservation of law and order.

John Card. McCloskey

The city of New-York passed under the spiritual rule of Most Rev. John McCloskey on May 6, 1864. His administration is distinguished for development of the Catholic Protectory, which he greatly encouraged, the purchase by it of the Varian Farm in Westchester County in 1865, and the erection thereon of most of the permanent buildings, the corner-stones of which were laid by Archbishop McCloskey. The protectory also established a house of reception in the city. In 1867 a fair was held at Union Square, and realized over $100,000 for the protectory. In 1865 work was resumed on the new cathedral in Fifth Avenue. The title to the cathedral site was not acquired by gift from the corporation, as has frequently been stated in public prints, but was purchased for cash from a private owner. The city parted with its ownership in 1799 for £405 to a private purchaser, reserving an annual quit-rent of four bushels of wheat; and, after passing through different owners, it was in 1828 sold to Francis Cooper, under the foreclosure of a mortgage held by the Eagle Fire Insurance Company. Francis Cooper sold it in 1829 to the trustees of the cathedral and of St. Peter's Church, for about $5500, its whole value at that time. In 1852 a friendly partition suit resulted in the purchase by the cathedral of St. Peter's Church's half interest for $59,500. Subsequently the annual quit-rent of four bushels of wheat, a remnant of feudal tenure, was commuted for its equivalent in cash. The Land Records show these transfers. The cathedral, the erection of which

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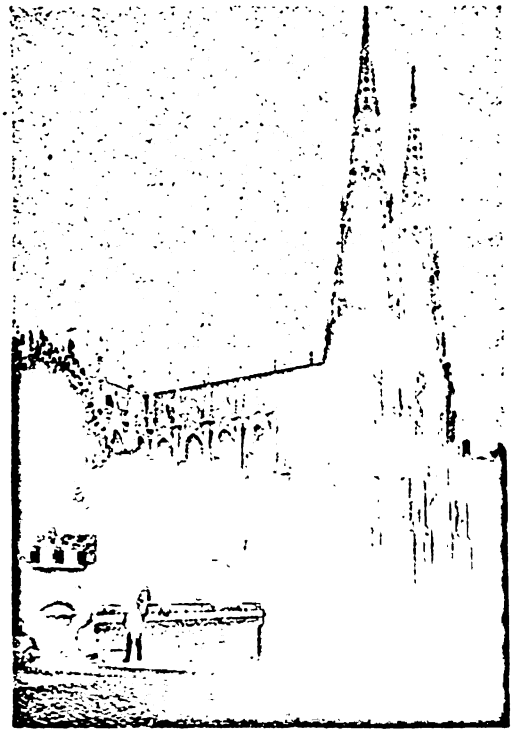
cost $3,000,000, was dedicated and opened to public services on May 25, 1879. The archiepiscopal and parochial residences on the Madison Avenue front were erected next. The former cost $90,000; the latter $80,000. It was during this episcopal administration that new institutions and religious orders were established in the city: the house of the Franciscan Fathers, the Capuchins, the Dominicans, Brothers of the Society of Mary, the Franciscan Brothers, the Ursulines, Missionary Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, School Sisters of Notre Dame, Sisters of St. Dominic, Sisters Marianites of the Holy Cross, Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, Presentation Nuns, Sisters of Christian Charity, Little Sisters of the Poor, Sisters of Bon Secours, and Sisters of St. Francis. St. Lawrence's Church, at Park Avenue and Eighty-fourth street, was turned over to the Jesuits, who have commenced there a new church and college. Other works, such as the Foundling Asylum and Maternity Hospital founded by Sister Irene of the Sisters of Charity, which have received and cared for nearly fifty thousand infants; the homes and hospitals of the Little Sisters of the Poor; the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin for homeless boys and girls, founded by the late Father Drumgoole, in Lafayette Place and on Staten Island; the Association for Befriending Children and Young Girls, established by Mrs. Starr, of the Sisters of the Divine Compassion; and St. Joseph's Institute for the Improved Instruction of Deaf Mutes, were founded.



ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL.

On April 27, 1875, papal officials from Pope Pius IX. invested Archbishop McCloskey with the insignia of the cardinalate, New-York city thus becoming the see of the first American cardinal. Cardinal McCloskey was summoned to the conclave of cardinals at Rome in 1878, but before he could reach Rome the conclave had elected Pope Leo XIII. In 1873, on December 8, the archiepiscopal city and diocese were consecrated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The Catholic

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Union and the Catholic Club were founded under Cardinal McCloskey, who celebrated in the cathedral the golden jubilee of his priesthood on January 12, 1884. On October 1, 1884, Most Rev. Michael Augustine Corrigan became coadjutor, under the title of Archbishop of Petra. Cardinal McCloskey died on October 10, 1885. At that time the number of churches in the city was sixty-four, chapels forty-eight, and priests nearly three hundred. The Catholic population of New-York was five hundred thousand.

The city and archdiocese then passed under the spiritual jurisdiction of Most Rev. Michael Augustine Corrigan, who became third archbishop of New-York. Many new churches and institutions have been erected between 1885 and 1893; the beautiful towers of the new cathedral were erected. In 1884, when Henry George, candidate of the labor organizations and advocate of the single tax and other theories, ran for mayor, Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn, pastor of St. Stephen's Church, actively espoused his cause, visited the polls with him, and took part in the canvass. Archbishop Corrigan's disapproval of his course, and the doctor's refusal to desist, led to his suspension as a priest, and upon summons and refusal to go to Rome, by order of the pope he was excommunicated. Archbishop Corrigan issued a pastoral, dated November 19, 1886, upholding the rights of property, a document which won for him the thanks of all denominations. At Christmas, 1892, Archbishop Satolli, the recently arrived papal delegate, restored Dr. McGlynn to his priestly functions on his complying with the conditions imposed. In November, 1892, New-York city was the place of the annual conference of the American archbishops, who sat at the archiepiscopal residence to consider Catholic education and other subjects; Monsignor Satolli attended their conferences as the representative of Pope Leo XIII. The new building of the Catholic Club on Fifty-ninth street was completed in February, 1892. Several new religious orders have been introduced, among them the Dominican Nuns of Perpetual Adoration, who erected a new convent at Hunt's Point. The Ursuline Nuns, formerly of East Morrisania, have taken posses-

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sion of their new convent and academy at Bedford Park. A new and spacious theological seminary of St. Joseph, for the education of New-York priests, has been commenced near Yonkers; the corner-stone was laid on May 17, 1891, by Archbishop Corrigan, and donations to a large amount have been received. Now, at the beginning of the year 1893, there are in the city eighty-five churches, forty-five chapels, and about four hundred priests.

The present estimated Catholic population of the city is between six and seven hundred thousand, derived from various sources of nationality: from the old English Catholic settlement in Maryland and the old French settlements along our northern frontiers and the vast region originally known as Louisiana; from the Spanish settlements in Florida and States acquired from Mexico; from Canadians, American converts, and a large portion from native-born citizens of foreign parentage, the Irish and German predominating. The nations contributing to our Catholic population are American, English, Irish, German, Scotch, Italian, French, Canadian, Spanish, Portuguese, Central and South American, Polish, Swiss, Belgian, Hungarian, Cuban, and Syrian. The secular clergy, performing the ordinary mission of the church, constitute three fifths of New-York's priests; two fifths are composed of the regulars, or members of religious orders which devote themselves to special works: Jesuits, Redemptorists, Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, Apostolic Missionaries of Piacenza, Capuchins, Carmelites, Paulists, and Fathers of Mercy. There are religious organizations for education and charity, such as the Brothers of the Christian Schools, Brothers of the Society of Mary, Franciscan Brothers, Sisters of Charity, Ladies of the Sacred Heart, Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of the Good Shepherd, Ursuline Nuns, Sisters of the Divine Compassion, Sisters of Misericorde, Franciscan Sisters, Sisters of Notre Dame, Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent, Dominican Sisters, Sisters Marianites of the Holy Cross, Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, Sisters of the Presentation, Sisters of Christian Charity, Sisters of St. Agnes, Little Sisters of the Poor, Salesian Missionary Sisters, and Franciscan Sisters.

It was the expectation of the Editor to have followed these two notices with similar sketches of the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and other prominent religious bodies, but the volume having already passed the limit, as to the number of pages, placed on it by the publishers, he is regretfully compelled to omit the interesting and valuable monographs on the above mentioned and many other important churches which had been carefully prepared for this chapter of the Memorial History.

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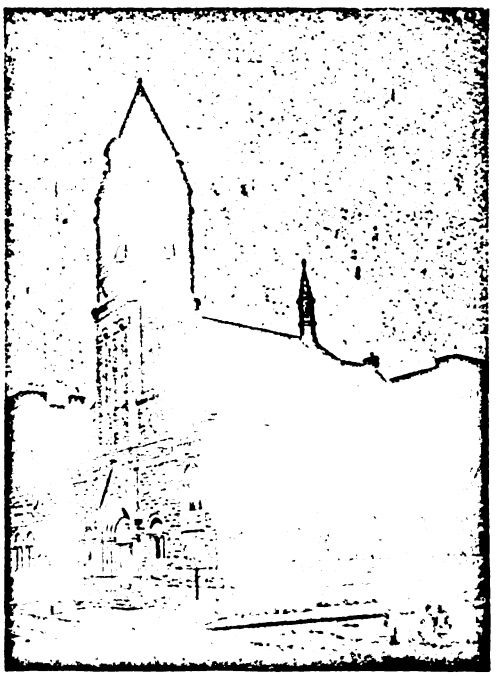
THE COLLEGIATE REFORMED CHURCH, NEW-YORK

The following list presents the ministerial succession of the Collegiate Church, without any intermission, from the earliest date, 1628, to the present, 1893, a period covering more than a quarter millennium:

Jonas Michaelius.....1628–1633
Everardus Bogardus.....1633–1647
Johannes Backerus.....1647–1649
Joannes Megapolensis.....1649–1669
Samuel Drisius.....1652–1673
Samuel Megapolensis.....1664–1668
Wilhelmus Van Niewenhuysen.1671–1682
Henricus Selyns.....1682–1701
Gualterus Du Bois.....1699–1751
Henricus Boel.....1713–1754
Joannes Ritzema.....1744–1784
Lambertus De Ronde.....1751–1784
Archibald Laidlie.....1764–1779
John Henry Livingston.....1770–1812
William Linn.....1785–1805
Gerardus Arense Kuypers.....1789–1833
John Neilson Abeel.....1795–1812
John Schureman.....1809–1811
Jacob Brodhead.....1809–1813
Philip Milledoler.....1813–1825
John Knox.....1816–1858
Paschal Nelson Strong.....1816–1825
William Craig Brownlee.....1826–1860
Thomas De Witt.....1827–1874
Thomas Edward Vermilye.....1839–1893
Talbot Wilson Chambers.....1849–
Joseph Tuthill Duryea.....1862–1867
James Meeker Ludlow.....1868–1877
William Ormiston.....1870–
Edward Benton Coe.....1879–
David James Burrill.....1891–

Next after Trinity, the Collegiate Church is the wealthiest religious corporation or institution in New-York. It is estimated to be worth between $5,000,000 and $8,000,000. It was in 1803 that the last sermon in the Dutch language was preached in this city to a very small congregation. EDITOR.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, FIFTH AVENUE.



METHODIST CHURCH, MADISON AVENUE.

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L'ENVOI.

With the fourth and concluding volume of the "Memorial History of the City of New-York," the Editor desires to make his acknowledgments to the many persons who have in various ways contributed to the completion of the work. First, to Bishop Potter, the Rev. Drs. De Costa, Dix, Isaacs, and Vermilye; to Messrs. Conway, Fernow, Fowler, Gerard, Lawrence, Saunders, Stevens, and Stone; to Dr. Shrady, Professor Johnston, Generals Clark and Rodenbough, Colonel Langdon, and the other well-known contributors, the Editor is particularly indebted. Two expected contributors to the Memorial History, Dr. John Gilmary Shea and Mr. George Pellew, died during the progress of the work, before completing their promised chapters. To his efficient office assistants, the Rev. Daniel Van Pelt and his successor, Mr. Walter S. Wilson; and to the artists Bonwill, Daecke, Reich, and Warren, who aided him in illustrating the four volumes, he desires to return his thanks. To the Hon. John Jay, the Rev. Dr. Henry Van Dyke, and Captain Alfred T. Mahan of the United States Navy, who each anticipated contributing chapters to the work, and who, being prevented by illness or engagements, placed useful data at the disposal of the Editor,—as did also Robert Lenox Belknap, Morris K. Jesup, Elbridge T. Gerry, John R. Haines, Dr. Thomas Hunter, Francis S. Longworth, George McCulloch Miller, Rev. Drs. Talbot W. Chambers and Albert S. Hunt, Admiral Samuel R. Franklin, of the United States Navy, and many others,—his thanks are also due. To the librarians of the Astor, Columbia College, Genealogical and Biographical Society, New-York Historical Society, Lenox, Mercantile, and New-York Society libraries, the Editor is indebted for various courtesies; and to the Hon. Simon Gratz and Mr. Ferdinand S. Dreer, both of Philadelphia, for tracings from their unrivaled collections of American autographs. To Messrs. D. Appleton & Co., Duprat & Co., Harper & Brothers, and Tiffany & Co. thanks are returned for the use of valuable illustrations; to James S. Bradley, Jr., for an ancient document; to Mrs. Georgiana Cole, for the loan of the manuscript "A Song of the Union," by her father, George P. Morris; to Mrs. Joseph W. Drexel, for the use of her complete collection of autographs of the mayors of New-York; to Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., of Boston, for photographs of Sir John and Lady Temple; to Bauman L. Belden, for a rare Washington print; to General Charles W. Darling, for miniatures of General and Mrs. Washington; to Colonel George L. Gillespie, U. S. A., Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, and David Gardiner, for valuable illustrations; to Clarence W. Bowen, for the use of several portraits; to Hon. James W. Gerard, for the loan of his New-York illustrations; to George G. DeWitt, for ancient engravings; to Clermont Livingston, for family portraits; to General Egbert L. Viele, for the use of his admirable map of Manhattan Island; to John Austin Stevens, for three valuable portraits; to Thomas J. McKee for playbills and portraits to illustrate the chapter on Theaters; to Franklin Bartlett and J. V. Olcott, for views of the Union and Colonial Clubs; to General De Peyster, for various family memorials; also to the Earl of Darnley and Earl Stanhope the Editor is indebted for aid in illustrating his volumes. In addition to the many persons already mentioned elsewhere throughout the Memorial History, who contributed portraits, views, documents, and autographs to illustrate the work, the Editor returns his grateful thanks to scores of others, who have in many ways assisted him in making the work worthy of the poet's invitation:

> "I pray you, let us satisfy our eyes
> With the memorials and the things of fame
> That do renown this city."

NEW-YORK, April, 1893.

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GENERAL INDEX

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GENERAL INDEX

Many early Dutch names were spelled in a variety of ways. If an entry cannot be found in this Index under one spelling, reference should be made to another form of the same name.

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